

Development of Kubraviya Sufi order in Kashmir with Special Reference to Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani

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Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "*Development of Kubraviya Sufi order in Kashmir with special Reference to Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani*" submitted by *Surayia Gull* for the award of **Ph.D. Degree in Islamic Studies**, is an original work accomplished by her under my supervision. It is further to certify that she has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for the submission of thesis.

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Introduction

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss in detail the growth and development of Sufism outside Kashmir. However, we would attempt to provide a background for our exposition of Sufism in Kashmir in general and the Kubravi order in particular.

Different opinions have been put forward both by traditional and modern scholars about the origin of the word Sufi¹. However, it is now generally accepted that the term “Sufi” was derived from *suf* (wool) and was applied to those pious Muslims who wore woollen garments and devoted themselves to a life of meditation and self-renunciation.² To prove that Sufism is the reality and essence of Islam the sufis interpret some verses of the Quran³ and the Traditions⁴ of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) in their own way.

It appears that multifarious factors led to the birth and growth of Sufism. The roots of Sufism may be traced to the human aspiration for direct personal approach to, and a more intense experience of, the supreme being and the religious truth. As a matter of fact, strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any formal approach to the ultimate reality. Sufism also represents a reaction against over-intellectualism and formalism. Thus, people who yearned for a direct and spontaneous approach to Islam turned mainly to its spiritual and devotional aspects. Besides this it appears that the inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices also led to the emergence of this spiritual movement in Islam.

Sufism demands absolute devotion to Allah and is not a theoretical and formalist approach to religion. It aims at reaching the goal generally described by sufis⁵ as *fana* and *baqa*.⁶ This mystic movement in Islam appears to have passed through three distinct stages - the period of quietists, the mystic thinkers and the silsilas.

During the period of quietists it was individual-centred. People like Abu Dhar Ghaffari⁷ and Hasan Basri⁸ cut themselves off from the worldly attachments and preferred seclusion. Then, with sufis such as Rabia (713 or 717-801)⁹, the element of love entered Sufism; Allah was not worshipped to seek gains in the next world but for His love alone.

By the time of Muhasabi (781-857)¹⁰ some literature on Sufism had appeared to give it a theoretical basis. A broad framework of Sufism is given in the Risala of Qushairi.¹¹ With it Sufism enters the second phase of its development. A new impetus to Sufism was imparted by the works of Ghazali. His **Ihya Ulum al-Din** in Arabic and **Kimiyai Saadat** in Persian settled many controversies about reality, the nature of being and other philosophical issues. Subsequently Ibn Arabi (1165-1240) gave a new basis to Sufi thought which had far reaching practical impact. He defined *wahdatul-wujud*¹² (unity of being) in his monumental **Fusus al-Hikkam**.

By the eleventh century A.D. sufis developed organisations and *Khanqahs* became the centres of their spiritual activities. The origin of the *Khanqah* or monastery in Sufism is not precisely known; the traditions ascribed to the great mystic Shaikh Abu Sid bin Abul-khair¹³ tend to show that the rules of *Khanqah* life had evolved by this time.

The organization of the sufis into *silsilas* (orders) was the third and the most important phase of the development of Sufism. The orders of the sufis described in Hujwiri's **Kashful-Mahjub** seem to have emerged into new orders¹⁴ with prominent figures such as Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (1078-1166)¹⁵, Shaikh Najmud-Din Kubra (1145-1221)¹⁶ and Shaikh Shihabu d-Din Suhrawardi (1144-1234)¹⁷ at their head. The works of these sufis, who

became the founders of the new orders which developed in their names, became the main text books for their disciples.

The development of *Khanqahs* and *silsilas* is marked by the evolution of sufi practices such as relations between *pir* (preceptor) and, *murid* (disciple) and rules for guiding the disciples¹⁸. Each *silsila* evolved its own broad framework for imparting guidance and a code of behaviour for the disciples.

Sufism salvaged and fortified men's moral courage and prepared them to face the calamities befalling them when the rise and dominance of the Mongols over central Asia and Persia gave a rude shock to the Islamic world. Poetry was the main medium of expression with the Sufis; it could be interpreted allegorically in a variety of ways without offending anyone. Attar (119-1203) and Rumi (1207-1273) were the best preceptors of their time. They encouraged peaceful co-existence, exalted the virtues of amity and love and spoke of brotherhood of all mankind.

Sufism reached Kashmir after it had entered the last and the most important phase of its history - the phase of organisation of the *Khaqahs* and *silsilas*. Towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. real and continuous sufi activities began there, simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir (720/1320). Henceforward, outstanding sufis like Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad, Saiyid Jamalud Din Bukhari and Saiyid Ismail Shami, entered Kashmir in quick succession. This period when Sufis from Persia and central Asia began to pour into Kashmir synchronized with the development of an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishi order, with Shaikh Nurud Din as its founder.

Of all the sufis, preachers and missionaries, who entered Kashmir Saiyid Ali Hamadani proved to be the most successful. His missionary zeal led to total change in the demography of Kashmir. In fact, he headed an ideal team whose work revolutionized not only religious and social outlook of the masses but even transformed the shattered economy of Kashmir into a prosperous and vigorous economy.

Hamadani belonged to Kubravi order of sufis. As a matter of fact, Kubravi *silsila* became the most popular sufi order in Kashmir. His disciples, local as well as non-local, preached his religious doctrines even at the remotest corners of Kashmir. They carried on proselytising activities for centuries together after the departure of Hamadani from Kashmir.

Hamadani's son, Mir Muhammad succeeded to initiate Shaikh Nurud-din, the founder of the indigenous Rishi *silsila*, into the Kubravi order. This fact is substantiated by the historical document, **Khat-e-Irshad** of Mir Muhammad addressed to Shaikh Nurud-Din. (See appendix-III)

Various eminent contemporary scholars like Prof. A.Q.Rafiqi¹⁹, Prof. M. Ishaq Khan²⁰, Prof. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad²¹ and Saiyida Ashraf Zafar²² have discussed some aspects related to our subject in their respective works. Besides them people like Dr. Amir Hayat²³, G.M.Dar²⁴ and Abdul Rashid Beigh²⁵ have also worked on some related issue. None of the works has so far appeared exclusively on Kubravi *silsila* and Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani the founder of this most popular Sufi order in Kashmir. We have attempted to bring out various salient features of this order and have also given a new interpretation of various facts in the light of various primary sources.

An in-depth study of the problem has been made under the following chapters.

Various Sufi silsilas in Kashmir (a general survey): In this chapter we have discussed advent of Islam in Kashmir and the contribution of various sufis belonging to Suhrawardi Qadri and Naqshbandi orders as also the indigenous Rishi *silsila*.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani and his impact: In this chapter an attempt has been made to discuss life, works, political thought and impact of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. In addition to this, we have attempted to highlight some salient features of Hamadani's activities in Kashmir.

Development and salient features of Kubraviya Sufi order: In this chapter we have discussed the development and salient features of the Kubraviya

Sufi order in the light of Saiyid Ali Hamadani's thought.

Some prominent Sufis of Kubraviya order and their contribution: This chapter exclusively deals with the contribution made by prominent Kubravi saints especially in Kashmir.

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S. Rahman, "*Sufism and Islam*". Islamic Culture, 1, 1927, p. 640.
Mir Valuiddin, *The Quranic Sufism*. p.1.
2. R.A.Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p.3
Encyclopedia of Islam (Shorter) p. 579. Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*, pp.2-3.
A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, p.35
3. *Holy Quran*, 2:24, 182; 51:20; 21; 50:15; 29:19;
4. Arberry, *Sufism*, pp.25-26.
Cf. Nicholson, *The idea of Personality in Sufism*, p.7. *The Mystics of Islam*; P. 23.
5. *Fana* amounts to shedding one's ego. For details see H. Ritters article on Bayazid in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (New Edition), I, PP. 162-63. 1
6. Cf. Henry Corbin, L. *Imagination creatrice dams be sophism d Ibn Arabi* Eng. Tr. Ralph Hamhein (Creative Imagination in *Baqā*).
7. He was a companion of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). He died in the neighbourhood of Madina in 32 or 33/653. On account of his ascetic tendencies he became a model for pious Muslims in the later traditions of the Sufis.
8. He was born in 21/642. He exercised a lasting influence on the development of Sufism, by his ascetic piety... Sufis see in him a predecessor, whom they often quote—— He died on 1 Rajab, 110/ 10 October, 728.
Cf. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, II, p. 273.
9. She is highly respected for inculcating penitence, gratitude, Holy fear, voluntary poverty and utter dependence (Tawakul) upon Allah.
For detail see, Margaret Smith, *Rabia the mystic and her fellow saints in Islam*.
10. He was born at Basrah and educated at Baghdad, He is the author of some of the earliest works on Sufism. He is also well known for his method of examining the conscience .

Cf. Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam*. p.14.

11. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 74 *Revelation and Reason in Islam*. p. 108.
12. He emphasized that reality is one and indivisible. The creative power of Allah acts through his servant who is the locus (Mahal) on which this power is focussed.

For a detailed study on the subject see A.E.Afifi, *The Mystical philosophy of Muhyiddin, Ibnul Arabi*.
13. He was born in Khurasaan at Mayhana, on 7 December 967 A.D. He got his education and training from Abu Said Ayyari and Abul Qasim Bishri both of Mayhana. He was a great teacher and preacher of Sufism. He died at his native place on 4 Shaban, 440/12 January 1049. Cf, Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.
14. Hujwiri mentions twelve of them which were named after their founders. *Kashful Mahjub*, pp, 130, 176-266.
15. Among his works the best known are *Al-Ghunya li Talib Tariq al-Haq*. *Al-Fath al-Rubbani Fuhuh al-Ghaib*. Cf *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, pp 69-70.
16. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 823. for his works.
17. See *encyclopedia of Islam*, IV, p. 506 for his works.
18. Cf. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 85.
19. *Sufism in Kashmir*, Bharatiya Publishing House, Delhi n.d.
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Chapter - I

Various Sufi silsilas in Kashmir

(A general survey)

a) Advent of Islam in Kashmir

Historical accounts make it quite clear that the advent of Islam in Kashmir was not a sudden but gradual change. Muslims had settled in Kashmir long before the establishment of Muslim Sultanate known as the Shah Mir dynasty. The process had started as early as eighth century A.D.¹ No doubt, the process underwent certain fluctuations but with the establishment of Muslim Sultanate in 1339 A.D.², it not only got accelerated but became irreversible.

The Muslim conquerors, first Arabs and then Turks, on many occasions directed their military expeditions towards the Kashmir Valley. But either on account of natural defensive mechanism of the valley or due to unfavourable weather conditions or due to some political developments at the global level, they could not achieve their objective.

The Arab General, Muhammad bin Qasim, occupied Multan in 713 A.D., and marched towards the frontiers of Kashmir called, "Panj Nahiyat"³ But due to some political developments in the Ummayyad regime he was called back by Caliph Walid I (705-15).⁴

An "Arab mercenary, Muhammad Alafi, who had served Dahir⁵ (d.712) is reported to have sought refuge in Kashmir⁶ under Candrapida, the then ruler of Kashmir, who bestowed on him the territory of Shakalbar⁷. His estate, after his death, was inherited by one Jehm who, according to Kufi, built many mosques there.⁸ This clearly proves that by that time a sizable number

of Muslims had settled in Kashmir.

In about 140/757-58⁹ Hisham bin Amru'l Taghlibi, the "Arab Governor of Sind, made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the valley of Kashmir.¹⁰

In the second decade of eleventh century A. D. Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030) while conducting military expeditions to India, attempted to conquer Kashmir on two occasions, in 1014 and 1016. Mahmud's efforts were defied by the strong fortresses of Loharkote¹¹ and a timely snowfall.¹² However, according to the account of Abu'l Fazl Baihaqi,¹³ Mahmud while in hot pursuit of Narojaipal (Trilocanpati), who had received military assistance from Samgramraja, the ruler of Kashmir (1003-1028), plundered one of the valleys to the South of Kashmir¹⁴ and converted a large number of people there to Islam.

It was undoubtedly after Mahmud's attempts on Kashmir that Kalhana for the first time, while describing the reign of Harsa (1089-1111), refers to the presence of Turkic Muslim soldiers in Kashmir.¹⁵

In the second and third decade of Twelfth century A.D. we find Turkish mercenaries being employed by Bhik Sacara (1120-21) to fight against Sussala¹⁶ whom he had dethroned earlier.¹⁷ Likewise in later years of the same century A.D. Jayasimha (1128-49) used Muslim soldiers to crush rebellious chiefs.¹⁸

The accounts of Marcopolo also reveal that by the end of thirteenth century A.D., there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir.¹⁹ The Hindu rulers of Kashmir seem to have been bountiful and hospitable to these Muslim soldiers and adventurers of fortune,²⁰ as they continued pouring into Kashmir down to the establishment of Muslim rule there. Shah Mir was one of these adventurers, who emerged as the founder of the first Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir.

Different legends are recounted about the ancestry of Shah Mir by the Mughal and Kashmiri historians. Jonaraja regards Shah Mir the descendant of Partha²¹

(Arjuna of Mahabharata fame). Nizamu'd Din, Abu'l Fazl and Firishta uncritically accept Jonaraja's version;²² they rely upon his Rajatarangani which had been translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, on Akbar's orders.²³

Some Persian chroniclers of Kashmir like Tahir²⁴, Haidar Malik²⁵, Rafiu'd Din Ahmad²⁶, Muhammad A'azam²⁷ consider Shah Mir a descendant of the rulers of Swat. It appears most probable that Shah Mir's ancestors were of Turkic or Persian origin and had migrated to Swat, where they enjoyed political power for some time.

Shah Mir along with his family arrived in Kashmir in 1313, during the reign of Suhadeva²⁸ (1301-1320) who granted him the village of Davar Kunail, in the District of Baramulla²⁹, for his maintenance. In subsequent years, on account of his tactics and ability, Shah Mir rose to prominence and emerged as one of the important personalities³⁰. Eventually (in 1339) he succeeded to lay the foundation of permanent Muslim rule in Kashmir.

Dissensions among the ruling classes and foreign invasions³¹ were the two main factors that led to the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir. Other contributory factors were the long period of weak reigns and internal troubles caused by the Lavanyas and Damaras (the local chieftains). These local chieftains continually rose in rebellion and prevented the growth of strong centralized government in Kashmir³².

The foreign invasions first lead by Zulju and then by Achala proved turning points in the history of Kashmir. In the scenario that developed with Zulju's invasion, Rinchana, originally a Ladakhi prince who along with his associates had taken shelter under Suhadeva, rose to power. In the aftermath of Achala's invasion, Shah Mir emerged as the champion of public cause. Both of them were capable campaigners. They succeeded in organising the locals against foreign invaders which gave a moral boost to the local population despite their meagre resources. However, Islam entered Kashmir on large scale through missionaries, preachers and Sufis from Persia and Central Asia, the

lands which owed so much to Kashmir in the realm of art and philosophy.

The first name among the prominent preachers of Islam in Kashmir mentioned in the annals of Kashmir was Saiyid Abdul Rehman Sharifu'd Din Suharwardi who was later popularly known as Saiyid Bul Bul Shah. He is said to have entered Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-20). Saiyid was a widely travelled preacher and belonged to Suharwardi school of sufis, founded originally by Shihabud Din Suhrawardi³³. The former appears to have deeply impressed the people of Kashmir by his personal example, his method of preaching and persuasion at a time when the fortunes of the ruling dynasty were in the melting pot and people were passing through a period of political instability, heavy taxation and crushing burdens of feudalism³⁴. Above all, he was responsible for initiating the new ruler Rinchin into Islam; after conversion to Islam he got the Muslim name Sadru'd Din, (1320-23). Thus Islam was elevated to the status of state religion. He also persuaded Rawanchandra, Rinchin's brother-in-law and commander-in-chief of the army, and several others to accepting his creed. Saiyid Bulbul Shah died in 1327 A.D. and lies buried near Bulbul Lankar, Srinagar. His mission of spreading the message of Islam was carried on by his disciple Mulla Ahmad³⁵, till the reign of Sultan Shihabu'd Din (1354-73).

Thereafter the D'awa work was carried on by other sufis like Saiyid Jalalu'd Din of Bukhara and Saiyid Tajud Din, during the reign of Shihabu'd Din. They were accompanied by Saiyid Mas'ud and Saiyid Yusuf. But the most prominent among Sufi missionaries was Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, who by his devotion, piety, and great scholarship is said to have made 37000 conversions to Islam³⁶. His sojourns in Kashmir had accelerated the spread of Islam. He, alongwith his followers, visited even the remotest corners of the valley and by his discourses effected the conversion of a large number of people.

What won people for Islam were Hamdani's deep scholarship and spiritual attainments. Before the arrival of Hamadani, the converts to Islam were not fully acquainted with the basic tenets of the new faith. In Alaudinapura, for

instance, there was a temple, which was visited every morning both by the Sultan Qutub Din and his Muslim subjects³⁷.

The internal conditions of Kashmir that helped this process were ideological vacuum, caste-ridden social atmosphere, disappearance of Buddhism and decline of Hinduism. Due to heavy influx of adventurers and missionaries, especially the sufi saints from Persia, Central Asia and their deep impact upon the religious practices and beliefs of the people resulted in the emergence of various sufi *silsilas* (orders). An attempt has, therefore, been made in this chapter to highlight some aspects of life and contribution of the prominent figures of these sufi *silsilas* (orders) in Kashmir.

b) Sufi *silsilas* that entered Kashmir (a general survey)

The Suhrawardi Order³⁸

This order was introduced in Kashmir in the early fourteenth century A.D. by Saiyid Sharfu'd Din³⁹, who was a disciple of Shah Ni'amatullah Farsi. Ni'amatullah was himself one of the disciples of Shaikh Shihabu'd Din Suhrawardi (1144-1234).

The original home of Sharfu'd Din was Turkistan. He embarked upon a long journey under the directions of his preceptor and arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva⁴⁰ (1301-20). He became as popular as Saiyid Bulbul Shah. He is greatly remembered in Kashmir for having converted Rinchana⁴¹ and his brother-in-law, Rawanchandra⁴² to Islam. Rinchana, who adopted Sadru'd Din as his Muslim name, granted the revenues of certain villages⁴³ to Bulbul Shah. He also built a *Khanqah* for him, near his own palace⁴⁴, with attached langar (alms house). Saiyid Bulbul Shah died in 727/1325 and lies buried in his own *Khanqah*⁴⁵, now called Bulbul Lankar.

Another prominent Suhrawardi saint, Saiyid Muhammad Isfahani, arrived in Kashmir⁴⁶, during the reign of Sultan Zainu'l Abidin (1420-70) who gave him state grant for his maintenance. He was a disciple of Saiyid Jalal-ud-Din Bukhari of Uch, popularly called Makhdum Jahaniyan (1308-84). He first took up residence at Srinagar and then at the village of Khanpur⁴⁷. He preferred

to live a life of seclusion and applied himself to the most austere spiritual exercises. He became popular as Janbaz (one who stakes his life).

Next Suhrawardi saint of some eminence who arrived in Kashmir was Saiyid Ahmad. He was originally from Kirman and, before coming to Kashmir, appears to have migrated to one of the Suhrawardi centres in India⁴⁸. He was initiated into this order by one Saiyid Miyan⁴⁹. He was assigned an annual grant from the state revenue for the maintenance of his langar (alms house) by Sultan Nazuk Shah⁵⁰, the then Sultan of Kashmir. He also built a Khanqah for Kirmani at Narwara in Srinagar. After his death, he was buried in Srinagar near the tomb of Shaikh Bahau'd Din.

Saiyid Jamalu'd Din Bukhari was another prominent saint of this order who arrived in Kashmir in the first half of the sixteenth century. He took up residence in the Khanqah of Malik Ahmad Yattu⁵¹. He was a disciple of Shaikh Haji Abdul Wahhab Dehlavi, who belonged to the Sufi chain of Makhdum Jahaniyan. Jamalu'd Din did not stay for long in Kashmir. He, however, left an indelible mark on the Sufism of Kashmir and endowed the Suhrawardi order with stability and firmness through his disciple Shaikh Hamza. Jamalu'd Din gave the Shaikh the *silsila nama* and *ijazat nama*, thereby authorizing him to enroll disciples into the Suhrawardi order⁵².

Shaikh Hamza Makhdum⁵³, popularly known in Kashmir as "Mabubu'l Alam" (Beloved of the world) got his early education at the seminary of Shaikh Isma'il Kubravi where he was personally taught for about one year by Shaikh Fathullah, the son of Shaikh Isma'il. Maulana Darwesh imparted him lessons on Quran and its commentary in the same seminary⁵⁴. In Madrasatu'l Darush Shifa which was founded by Sultan Hasan Shah, Sheikh Hamza received education in fiqh and some works of Saiyid Ali Hamdani from Lutfullah⁵⁵.

Shaikh Hamza saw the downfall of Shah Mir dynasty and the rise of the Chaks, and was thus, witness to a very crucial period of the history of Kashmir. During his time internecine conflicts between the Shi'is and Sunnis vitiated the religious climate of that country⁵⁶.

Shaikh Hamza breathed his last on 24 Safar, 984/23 May, 1576⁵⁷, at the age of eighty four. He was buried⁵⁸ on the slope of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, where in his lifetime he used to spend long hours in meditation. His shrine is an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for many Kashmiri Muslims, even to this day.

Baba Dawud Khaki, Khwa'ja Ishaq Qari, Maulana Shamsu'd Din Paul, Baba Haidar Tulmuli and Khwaja Hasan Qari are mentioned among the prominent disciples of Shaikh Hamza. Baba Dawud Khaki was the most distinguished among these⁵⁹.

Baba Dawud received his education⁶⁰ from Mulla Bashir and Mulla Raziu'd Din. He served for some time as tutor to the royal family⁶¹, but later on he gave up this job and devoted himself to sufi practices. On being impressed by the devotion and spiritual progress of Khaki, Shaikh Hamza appointed him as his Khalifa⁶². Baba Dawud emerged as one of the most eminent scholars of his time. *Risala-i Ghusliya*, *Rishi-Nama*, *Wirdu'l Muridin* and *Dasturu's Salikin* are his important works.

Baba Dawud breathed his last on 3 Safar, 994/24 January, 1586⁶³ and lies buried near the tomb of his preceptor, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.

The Kubravi Order

This order will be dealt with in detail in a separate chapter of this dissertation.

Naqshbandi Order

The Naqshbandi order was popularised mainly by Khwaja Bahau'd Din Muhammad Naqshband (717-791/1371-1389).⁶⁴ It was originally started in the land of the Turks beyond the Amu Darya. In Kashmir it was introduced by one Saiyid Hilal. He arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413)⁶⁵. Saiyid Hilal is said to have been a direct disciple of Khwaja Bahau'd-Din⁶⁶. He lived a quiet life and died on 14 Rabi'ul Auwal, 861/9 February, 1457, at the village of Asham, north of Kashmir, where he had settled down⁶⁷.

Mir Saiyid Amin, popularly known in Kashmir as “Wusi-Sahib” was the only disciple left by Saiyid Hilal. He was the second son of Saiyid Hussain Baihaqi or Mantaqi⁶⁸ and received early education from Haji Ibrahim Adham. Baihaqi Begum, the wife of Sultan Zainu’l Abidin adopted him as a son. He led a life of seclusion at Asham. When Saiyid Hilal breathed his last, Amin moved to Srinagar, where he confined himself to a room near Koh-i-Maran⁶⁹.

Although Saiyid Amin did not keep up his relations with the Royal Court he became a victim of a political plot. Some of the disgruntled Kashmiri nobles had differences with the Baihaqi Saiyids, because of their arrogance. They launched a surprise attack on them on 30th Ziq’a 889/8th December, 1484. In this episode about 15 members of the Saiyid family were killed and Saiyid Amin was one of them. He was buried at Ali Kadal⁷⁰ on the bank of river Jhelum, in Srinagar, where his tomb exists to this day. Since Saiyid Amin did not leave any follower worthy of mention, the Naqshbandi *silsila* remained unknown in Kashmir for about a century.

It was revived by Khwaja Khawand Mahmood (d. 11, Shaban 1052 A.H./4 Nov., 1642) He was son of Khwaja Mir Saiyid Sharif, who was one of the descendants of Khwaja Allauddin Attar (d. Rajab’ 802 A.H./March 1400 A.D.), who was a distinguished disciple of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband. Khwaja Khawand arrived in Kashmir towards the end of 16th century A.D.⁷¹ Khwaja Khawand was a disciple of Khwaja Abu Ishaq Safeedki. He also claimed to have received spiritual instruction directly from Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband. The Naqshbandi order received a great impetus with the several visits he paid to Kashmir.⁷²

The Qadiriya Order

The Qadiriya order was founded by the famous Sufi saint, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (471 A.H./1078 A.D. - 561 A.H./1165 A.D.)⁷³ He was a great scholar as well as a great Sufi and an orator. He has a number of works to his credit.

Followers of this *silsila* are spread all over the Islamic world. This order was introduced in Kashmir; sometime in the second half of the 16th century⁷⁴ by the famous sufi Saiyid Ni'matullah Shah Qadiri. According to some historians he arrived in Kashmir during the rule of Chaks⁷⁵. Saiyid Ni'matullah Shah Qadiri was a direct descendant of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani⁷⁶. It is said that he was a great author, but unfortunately none of his works is available. He avoided the company of ruling class and spent most of his time in Sama'⁷⁷. Saiyid Ni'matullah did not stay long in Kashmir, and left for India after some time.

Among the disciples of Saiyid Ni'matullah Shah Qadiri, Shaikh Mirak Mir became a famous sufi of Kashmir. He belonged to Andrab, a city in Khurasan. His ancestors had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. His relatives held important posts under the Sultans. They advised him to take up a government job after the death of his father, but Shaikh Mirak Mir declined, and spent most of his time in meditation at *Khanqah-i-Andrabi* in Srinagar. This *Khanqah* was possibly built by one of his ancestors. First he practised Sufism independently, but when Saiyid Ni'matullah Shah Qadiri visited Kashmir he became one of his disciples and attained a high spiritual stage⁷⁸. A large number of people became his disciples and derived lot of benefit from him. He died on 8th Safar, 990/Ist March, 1582⁷⁹ and was buried at Mallarta in Srinagar.

Another eminent Shaikh of Qadiriya order was Saiyid Isma'il Shami. He came to Kashmir in 992 A.H/1581 A.D.,⁸⁰ after travelling through several countries including Rome, Syria, Sindh and a number of places in India. According to Muhiuddin Miskin, Saiyid Isma'il Shami arrived in Kashmir in 996 A.H. (1587 A.D.)⁸¹, but this date does not appear to be correct, because it was Baba Dawud who received Saiyid Ismail Shami in Kashmir, and Baba Dawud had died before 996 A.H.⁸². Shami was educated by his father, Saiyid Suliman. Afterwards he became disciple of Saiyid Mohammad Qasim. According to famous historian Mohiuddin Miskin, Saiyid Mohammad Qasim was his father⁸³, but it does not seem to be true because his father's name was

Saiyid Suliman, who educated him in his early life before he became disciple of Saiyid Mohammad Qasim,⁸⁴ a famous Qadiri Shaikh of his time.

Saiyid Isma'il Shami was given a warm welcome on his arrival in Kashmir by a number of distinguished personalities including the famous Sufi Baba Dawood Khaki, who developed friendship with him.⁸⁵ Baba Dawood Khaki was very much impressed by the character, simplicity and spiritual achievements of Shaikh Saiyid Isma'il Shami. Shami did not stay long in Kashmir and returned to India,⁸⁶ but he laid a firm foundation for Qadiriya order in Kashmir. One of his disciples, Mir Nazuk Niyazi became a great Shaikh of Qadiriya order in Kashmir.

Mir Nazuk Niazi was at first a disciple of Baba Dawood Khaki in the Suharwardi order, but when Shami came to Kashmir, Baba Khaki introduced Mir Nazuk to Saiyid Isma'il who later initiated him to Qadriya order. Later on Saiyid Isma'il gave Mir Nazuk the *Khirqa* and *Ijazat Nama*, hence Mir Nazuk became one of the prominent *Khalifahs* of Saiyid Isma'il and a prominent Shaikh of Qadiriya order in Kashmir.

Unlike Shaikh Ni'matullah, Mir Nazuk did not approve the practice of *Sam'a* (Sufi Music). It has been reported that while giving *Ijazat*, Saiyid Isma'il told Mir Nazuk that he was bestowing that *Ijazat* after (spiritual) order from Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani⁸⁷. Since Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani did not like *Sam'a*, Mir Nazuk also disapproved it.

Qadiriya order flourished in Kashmir because of the influence of Mir Nazuk. He was a great Sufi and was respected by all. A number of his *karamaat* (miracles) have been mentioned in the history books. Not only this but he was also very particular about the Sunnah of the Prophet (*Sallallahu 'Alaihi wa Sallam*)⁸⁸ and followed the footsteps of the Prophet to the maximum possible extent.

Mir Nazuk Qadiri passed away on 8th Zul-Hijja, 1022 A.H.⁸⁹/20th January, 1614. He was buried at Kadi Kadal, Srinagar.

After the death of Mir Nazuk Niazi Qadiri, his eldest son, Mir Yusuf, became his successor and *Khalifa*. Mir Yusuf was also a great sufi of Qadiri order he had been educated by his great father, Mir Nazuk. Mir Yusuf died of plague at an early age in 1027 A.H./1617 A.D.⁹⁰

After the death of Mir Yusuf, Mir Nazuk's third son, Mir Mohammad Ali⁹¹ became the successor of Mir Nazuk. It was Mir Mohammad Ali who popularised Qadiriya Order in Kashmir. He remained the most prominent Shaikh of this order in Kashmir for more than forty years. People from all walks of life were attracted towards him. Shaikh Mir Mohammad Ali Qadiri died on 17th Zul Hijjah, 1070 A.H. (66)/24th August, 1600⁹² and was buried at Kadi Kadal, Srinagar.

Rishi Silsilah:

One of the most popular sufi orders in Kashmir is the Rishi Order. The Rishi Order is the indigenous Sufi order; it has originated in Kashmir itself as against the earlier sufi orders, already discussed here which entered Kashmir from Central Asia, Persia and some parts of India. It is said that the Rishi order developed amidst the traditions of Buddhist renunciation and Hindu asceticism.

Origin of the word "Rishi"

According to the local traditions the term "*Rishi*" is derived from Sanskrit, but some Muslim traditions⁹³ tell us that it has been derived from the Persian word "*raish or rish*", which means; "the feathers of a bird, plumage; a wide garment; abundance of means of life; the beard."⁹⁴ Baba Dawud Mishkati, for instance, asserts that rishi was derived from the Persian word *raish* or *rish* meaning the feathers or wings of a bird. "A bird", he writes, "whose feathers are removed has no control over its own movements and depends entirely on the wind. To whatever direction the wind blows, the bird is carried by it. So it is with a Rishi; he is alienated from the world and lives alone buffeted by fate."⁹⁵

Abdu'l-Wahhab sees the meaning of rishi as "warmth" (*hararat*); this

meaning, he writes, can be applied to a sufi, for "by the warmth of his heart the sufi reaches his goal, attaining from a state of devotion the object of his desire."⁹⁶

Although the above explanations have their own force yet it can not be denied that the word "*Rishi*" was assimilated into medieval Kashmiri like other Sanskrit words. The word is also used in Hindu religious books, e.g. in *Rig-Vada* it is used in the meaning of a "singer of sacred hymns." In the post-Vedic period Rishi meant a legendary sage to whom vedic hymns were revealed. Later on it came to be applied more loosely to a "saint or sanctified sage." In the modern period the word Rishi is used by Hindus in the meaning of an ascetic or anchorite of high reputation for his sanctity. Some of the Kashmiri scholars like Mohammad A'zami⁹⁷ and Pir Hasan⁹⁸ accept the Sanskrit origin of the word.

Origin of Rishi Movement in Kashmir:

As far as the origin of the Rishi order is concerned, there is no authentic source which can be relied upon. There are very conflicting and confusing stories about it.⁹⁹ According to some historians Rishi order originated from three Rishi brothers, Khalasman, Plasman and Yasman who lived during the pre-Islamic period. But Hindu mythological tales about them are such that make their authenticity doubtful. For example the age of Khalasman has been stated to be sixteen hundred years, that of Plasman twelve hundred years and that of Yasman eight hundred years, ideas which defy belief. Besides, there are other myths of the same nature, fantastic.

It is a fact that Hindu Rishis existed in Kashmir long before Muslim Rishi saints. However, it was Shaikh Nuruddin, who renewed the traditions of Rishis and founded the order of Muslim Rishi saints. As far as available sources are concerned no Rishi order among the Muslim saints existed before Shaikh Nuruddin commonly known as Nundresh or Alamdar-e-Kashmir.

Shaikh Nuru'd-Din and his disciples

Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi is one of the most revered Muslim sufis of Kashmir.

He played such an important role not only in founding and popularising the Rishi Order but also in Islamization of Kashmir, that he is popularly known as Alamdar-e-Kashmir.

The original name of Shaikh Nuruddin Rishi seems to have been Nund. Nund, in Sanskrit, means the light and happiness¹⁰⁰, while in Kashmiri it means virtuous. As far as his date of birth is concerned, there is no general agreement.

However, a number of noted writers agree that he was born on 10th of Zul-Hijja, 779 A.H/9th April, 1378 A.D.¹⁰¹ The famous writer, Pir Hasan has given the year of his birth as 757 A.H./1356-57¹⁰². Shaikh Nuruddin was born at Kaimuh where his father (Salar Ganai) lived. Salar Ganai belonged to the tribe of watchmen, the *Qabila-e Pasban*. Probably, watchmen, a working class, were identified as a separate "*Qabila*" (tribe) in those days. It is also said that when the Shaikh was born he did not take milk from his mother's breast. Three days after his birth, Lalla, the celebrated Shaivite ascetic of Kashmir, happened to come by and spoke to the newly born baby: "you were not ashamed of being born; why are you ashamed to suck?" Thereupon the baby immediately started taking milk and Lalla thereafter continued to visit the house of the parents of Nuruddin."¹⁰³

After the death of their father, the brothers of Shaikh Nuruddin, Shush and Gandur, are reported to have started a life of theft and robbery. When Shaikh Nuruddin grew up, they pressed him to share their way of life, and Nuruddin reluctantly agreed. This has been hinted by Shaikh Nuruddin in the following verses:

"A spring has been lost in the stream,

A saint has been lost among the thieves.

A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of fools,

*A swan has been lost among the crows."*¹⁰⁴

However, Shaikh Nuruddin did not prove to be a good thief. His brothers complained about this to their mother and left him alone with the remark that he was "an ignorant fool"¹⁰⁵

Then his mother asked him that he should adopt some other means of earning his livelihood. The Shaikh agreed and went with his mother to a weaver to become his apprentice.¹⁰⁶ But on the very first day the weaver lost patience with him as he kept on asking questions about religion instead of attending to his work.¹⁰⁷ The weaver sent for Nurud-Din's mother. She came and enquired what was wrong with him and why he did not get on with his work. The Shaikh replied: "No work in this world is easy. The tools of the weaver remind me that we all have to leave this world. So we should not set our hearts on worldly success. Our destiny is determined at our birth. We work in order to keep alive until the moment when that destiny must be fulfilled. If we do not worship, how shall we achieve freedom from the punishment of the grave?"¹⁰⁸

A number of legends relate the piety and the visions of Shaikh Nuruddin. Regarding his name as Nund, it has been related that once the Holy Prophet (*Sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*) appeared to Shaikh Nuruddin in a dream, addressed him by his Kashmiri name, Nund, and advised him to perform pious deeds and be worthy of his name.¹⁰⁹ This vision drew the veil from the eyes of Shaikh Nuruddin and he was increasingly drawn to the spiritual life. Shaikh Nuruddin got his spiritual stages to a very high position through the "*Owaisi Tariqah*"¹¹⁰ (i.e. *Owaisi Silsilah*). *Owaisi Tariqah* means that a Shaikh gets higher spiritual stage directly through the Holy Prophet (*Sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*) without obtaining any spiritual instructions from a Shaikh or Saint. The *Owaisi Tariqah* has been named by the sufis after the name of *Hadrat Owais Qarni* (Rad.A.), who although did not see the Holy Prophet (*Sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*) yet got spiritual instructions from him spiritually.

Although most of the historians agree that Shaikh Nuruddin was *Owaisi*, yet a few later scholars like A'zami hold the view that Shaikh Nuruddin received guidance from Saiyid Husain, the cousin of Saiyid Ali Hamadani¹¹¹. This view does not seem to be correct because Saiyid Ali Hussain had passed away long before Shaikh Nuruddin took to the spiritual path at the age of 30.

Saiyid Husain, the cousin of Saiyid Ali Hamdani died in 792 A.H./1390 A.D. while Shaikh Nuruddin was born in 779 A.H./1377-1378 A.D.,¹¹² and started his spiritual life only in 809 A.H./1420 A.D. when he was 30 years old. Thus Saiyid had died 17 years before Shaikh Nuruddin embarked upon the spiritual path. Therefore, it is not correct to say that Shaikh Nuruddin had received the spiritual guidance from Saiyid Husain.

Shaikh Nuruddin was very much influenced by the personality of Lalla. He drew inspirations from Lalla, even though he did not actually become her disciple. Regarding Lalla he says:

*"That Lalla of Padmanpur
Who had drunk nectar
She is the Avatar and Yogini
O God, bestow the same (spiritual power) on me."*¹¹³

The teachings of Lalla and Shaikh Nuruddin are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. Lalla was, infact, an initial and important source of inspiration for Nuruddin.¹¹⁴

Lalla, while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship, says:

*"Who are they that weathers of flowers bring?
What are the flowers that at the Feet they lay?
Water that they on the image fling?
What the spell that Shankar's self shall sway."*

Nuru'd-Din likewise points out;

*"By bowing down, thou shall not become a Rishi,
The pounder in the rice-mill did never raise up its head.
By bathing the mind will not be cleaned,
The fish and other never ascend the bank."*

Lalla relates her spiritual experience in the following verses:

"Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,

*Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo! I found Him in my own country."*

On the signs of immorality in society Lalla observes:

"In these evil times doth Nature bow unto them that walk in wrongful ways.

*Autumn pears and apples ripen now. With the apricots of summer days. In
the coming days of shame and wrath Mother and her daughter, hand in hand,
strangers to cross shall wander forth; Men and women in an evil band."*

Nuru'd-Din makes the same point, employing almost the same language:

*"The times will become more and more evil. Human nature itself will change
for the worse, pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn will
change and ripen with apricots in the height of the rainy season;*

✓ *Mothers and daughters hand in hand, will enjoy their days with strangers."*¹¹⁵

Shaikh Nurud-Din has been recognised as one of the great Muslim saints of Kashmir. Jonaraja, a contemporary of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din, has described him as the greatest sage of his time. Shaikh Nuruddin usually took very simple food, most of the time wild vegetables (*Kasni* being his most common food)¹¹⁶. Later on he gave up that too and started taking only one cup of milk daily; and finally in the last years of his life he gave up even milk and took only water.¹¹⁷

Shaikh Nuruddin passed away at the age of 63 on 26 Ramadan, 842 A.H./12 March, 1439 A.D.¹¹⁸ He was buried with royal honour at the village Chirar. The Sultan of Kashmir, Sultan Zainul Abidin, was among the mourners.

Shaikh Nuruddin is among the most popular Sufis of Kashmir. He is popularly known as "Alamdard-e-Kashmir". The simplicity and the purity of Shaikh Nuruddin's life deeply impressed the people of Kashmir, who entertained the highest veneration for him to this day.¹¹⁹

Shaikh Nuruddin had no opportunity to obtain formal education. But his

sayings are common among the people of Kashmir. He uttered his sayings in Kashmiri dialect, hence became popular among the common public. Actually his sayings embody teachings of Islam. For example he says:

*"There is one God,
But with a hundred names.
There is not a single blade of grass,
Which does not worship Him."*¹²⁰
*"First I became certain that there is no god but Allah,
Then I made myself (acquainted) Divine revelations.
First I forgot myself and yearned after God,
Then I reached la-makan (one who has no fixed abode i.e., God)."*¹²¹

He further says:

*"No one can take anything from him to whom God has given,
Time and chance are only a means to an end. For one, whom God will
abandon, no one can provide, Neither intelligence nor high caste shall help
him. He was, He is and He shall be. So remember Him constantly here; He
will remove all (your) anxieties, So come to your senses at once."*¹²²(96)

At another place he says:

*"Love is the death of a mother's only son,
Love is the venomous sting of a swarm of wasps,
Can the lover have any rest?
Love is rope dripping with blood.*

Can the wearer (lover) even utter a sigh?"

*"The lover is he who burns with love,
whose self shines like gold.*

*When man's heart lights up with the flame of love,
then shall he reach la-makan."*¹²³

He also says:

*"Understand that sun (lit. spring i.e. youth) is the best time (to worship),
It is better to be ready right from the beginning
Do not lay behind, youth is an illusion, '
What shall a man do if he misses his chance early."*¹²⁴

About the control of *nafs* (self, ego) he says:

*"the nafs has disturbed me greatly.
The nafs has ruined me entirely.
It is the nafs which makes us destroy others.
The nafs is the slave of the devil."
"To serve nafs is to thrust ashes into one's own eyes.
How then can one expect to see?"
"The nafs is just like a rebellious calf, which should be tied up.
It should be threatened with the stick of fasting."
"Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams of cradles.
He who cut and filed it will burn it into ashes".¹²⁵*

Shaikh Nuruddin tells at another place:

*"Those who kill Tamogunas
They will bear (everything) with resignation,
Those who seek after ease, ease (God).
They consider everything (in this world) as ashes (worthless)".¹²⁶*

The sayings of Shaikh Nuruddin provide lot of information about the social life and religious attitudes of mullas of his time:

*"A spiritual guide seems like a pot full of nectar,
Which may be trickling down in drops
Having a heap of books beside him,
He may have become confused by reading them.
On examining him we found him empty in mind,*

He may be preaching to others but forgetting himself."

✓ *"The people of the kali-yuga in every house will pretend to be saints,*

As a prostitute does, when dancing.

They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle,

They will not sow beans, cotton seeds or grain.

They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means.

To hide themselves they will repair to a forest."

"O mulla your rosary is like a snake, you begin to count the beads when your disciples come near.

You eat six meals one after the other, if you are a mulla, then who are the thieves".¹²⁷

Disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin:

A large number of people were attracted towards Rishi movement through Shaikh Nuruddin. A number of them became his disciples. Prominent among his disciples were Bamu'd-Din, Zainu'd-Din, Latifu'd-Din, Nasru'd-Din and Qaiyamu'd-Din. According to Saiyid Ali, the first four were the *Khalifas* of Shaikh Nuruddin. This is vouchsafed by Pir Hasan.¹²⁸ According to him Shaikh Qiyamuddin was one of the closest friends of Shaikh Nuruddin.¹²⁹

Shaikh Bamuddin was one of the famous disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin. Originally he was a Brahman residing at Bamuzu, which is about 6 kilometers to the south east of the present district of Anantnag. The story of his embracing Islam has been narrated as under:

"(When he was a Hindu) he used to worship numerous idols. He is credited with having possessed remarkable miraculous powers, even as a Hindu. For example, he is reported to have bathed daily at dawn, simultaneously at five different places in Kashmir: Chandanyar (in the town of Vijabror), Shoryar and Khajyar (in Srinagar), Vular (40 miles north-west of Srinagar) and Khadanyar (in the town of Baramulla)."

It is said that when Nuruddin heard about his reputation, he decided to visit him and convert him to Islam. When Nuruddin went to see Bhuma Sidh (The

Hindu name of Bamuddin), he put the bloody skin of a newly slaughtered cow on his shoulders. Bhuma Sidh saw the Shaikh, and was naturally annoyed. He asked the Shaikh to go away, and not to pollute the idols. Nuruddin stayed; the Brahman asked him what he wanted. Nuruddin replied: "I want you to become a Muslim," and added that it was folly to worship idols carved out of stone by a mere man. To worship what one has created himself is a sign of ignorance. After a long discussion, the Brahman asked the Shaikh to prove the truth of Islam. The Shaikh addressed the idols, which at once responded. At this Bhuma Sidh accepted Islam and was later named Bamuddin, by the Shaikh.

Saiyid Ali and Azami, however, give another version of Bamuddin's conversion. According to them Bhuma Sidh showed Nuruddin his spiritual power by flying up towards the sky. Nuruddin sent his shoes after him, Bhuma Sidh on seeing this was highly impressed by the Shaikh and accepted Islam.

When Shaikh Bamuddin was on his death bed some body asked who was to wash his corpse. Shaikh Bamuddin replied: "Zainuddin." Since Shaikh Zainuddin was in Tibet, his disciple asked that it was not possible for Shaikh Zainuddin to come from Tibet to Kashmir. Shaikh Bamuddin replied that he would come because that distance was no distance to him. When Shaikh Bamuddin died Shaikh Zainuddin miraculously arrived to attend his funeral.¹³⁰ If this tradition is right then it would imply that Shaikh Bamuddin's death occurred after 1420, because Shaikh Zainuddin's visit to Tibet, if true, was during the reign of Sultan Zainul Abiddin (1420-70 A.D.). Shaikh Bamuddin was buried at Bamuzu where he lived.¹³¹

Shaikh Zainuddin:

Shaikh Zainuddin was one of the most distinguished disciples of Shaikh Nuruddin. His piety and austerities earned a great name for him. He was held in great esteem even by his Shaikh i.e. Shaikh Nuruddin¹³² whom he served for a number of years. Afterwards Shaikh Nuruddin asked him to move to Aish-Muqam. He went there and stayed in a cave. He led a life of simplicity

and celibacy, and adopted the forms of worship which the Rishis considered most effective.

A number of miracles are attributed to Shaikh Zainuddin. "Once, in winter, one of his disciples went to bring water. He had to go a long way as there was no water near the cave. By chance he slipped, breaking his leg and smashing the pot. Shamsuddin, one of the disciples of Zainuddin, told his preceptor about this and asked who was to get water. Zainuddin prayed and the leg of his disciple was cured. He also asked the disciple to hit a tree on which a crow would be sitting. He did that and water sprang up from the ground following him until he halted. The legend came to Abu'l-Fazl's ears also. He writes: "In the village of Aish-Muqam is the cell of Baba Zainuddin Rishi. It is on the side of a hill. It is said that in ancient times the hill held no water, but when he took up his abode there, a spring began to flow."¹³³

Another legend has it that Zainuddin once sent one of his disciples to a certain place. The king's officials, who were working on Shahkul canal, seized him for forced labour. When he returned and Zainuddin learned what had happened, he got angry and caused the canal to dry up. It was only when the people expressed regret before Zainuddin that he restored the flow of water.

It is believed that Zainuddin visited Tibet. The sources assert that the cause of his visit to that country was the displeasure of Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-70), who once went to see Zainuddin, but was treated with scant attention. The Sultan was displeased, and asked him to leave his kingdom. Zainuddin gladly agreed and betook himself and some of his disciples to Tibet, where he was accorded a warm welcome. But soon the son of the ruler of that country died and the people blamed Zainuddin. He was threatened with death. He tried to convince them that it was God's will, not his fault but all in vain. So he prayed to God and the prince returned to life.¹³⁴

Meanwhile, Sultan Zainul Abidin is said to have got a boil on his foot and physicians failed to cure him. He asked help from Haji Adham, who told him that he was suffering because of the displeasure of Zainuddin, so he sent his

son prince Haidar, to bring him back. The moment Zainuddin put his foot on the road homewards the Sultan recovered and when the saint drew near, he went to receive him personally.¹³⁵

The story bears the marks of fabrication and seems to have been concocted in order to glorify the miraculous powers of Zainuddin Rishi. The same source attributes to Zainul Abidin another example of royal rage being frustrated. That was when he approached Shaikh Bahauddin Ganjbaksh, a Kubraviya saint. But he was not exiled. Moreover, Nuruddin was still alive, enjoying very cordial relations with the sultan.

Shaikh Zainuddin introduced a special dress for the Rishis known as Rishi-jama which according to Abdul Wahhab was "a variegated woollen cloak, with a black and white pattern worked into it."¹³⁶

At the time of his death Shaikh Zainuddin made a will that after the funeral rites his body be put in a *Tabut* and placed in a corner of the cave where he was staying. His disciples did the same. But after sometime they found that the corps was missing from the *Tabut*. Then a disciple dreamt that he wanted a grave made in his name at the spot where they had kept his *Tabut*.¹³⁷

Afterwards a tomb of Shaikh Zainuddin was built there i.e. at Aish-Muqam, which is a source of solace and inspiration for the people of Kashmir.

Latifu'd Din

Latifu'd Din was another prominent disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd Din. Latifu'Din was a rich man and the Shaikh wanted to impress upon him that worldly goods were of no use for one on the path of Allah. After serving the Shaikh for some time, Latifu'd Din was asked to settle down at Uttar and was entrusted with two newly enrolled Rishis, Pirbaz and Sharif Ashwar¹³⁸.

In accordance with the Rishi tradition, Latifu'd Din at first used to eat "Upalhak" (A wild vegetable), but when he migrated to Uttar, he lived on another wild vegetable known as Kanchan¹³⁹. Latifu'd Din later gave up eating all kinds of green herbs as he believed that he was destroying another life to

keep himself alive¹⁴⁰. Towards the end of his life, Latifu'd Din moved from Uttar to Poskar¹⁴¹, because at Uttar people in large numbers used to come to him and ask for his blessings¹⁴². It was at Poskar that he breathed his last and was buried there¹⁴³.

Nasru'd Din

Nasru' d Din was one of the favourite disciples and companions of Shaikh Nuru' d Din. He became popular in Kashmir as Nasr Rishi. He belonged to a rich family living at Shazipura in the pargana of Yech¹⁴⁴. Initially, in his youth, he got acquainted with the Shaikh because he was guided in his dream, on his sick bed, about the Shaikh and his associates. So, he bade farewell to the world and remained with Nuru'd Din till his death¹⁴⁵.

During his spiritual apprenticeship, Nasru'd Din was entrusted with the care of other disciples of Nuru'd-Din. It is said that Nasru' d Din fasted and ate ashes mixed with water at the time of Iftar¹⁴⁶. Nasru' d Din was the constant companion of Shaikh Nuru'd Din from the day he joined him. Out of affection, the Shaikh used to call him "Nasro" and addressed some of his sayings to him. The following sayings of the Shaikh on the subject "Come good, come evil, there is an end" are addressed to Nasru'd Din.

"When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlum, that day has passed, O Nasar.

*When we had only thin curry and unsalted vegetables to eat, that day too has gone, O Nasar...."*¹⁴⁷

When Shaikh Nuru'd Din died, Nasru'd Din succeeded him as the head of the Rishi's *Khanqah* at Chrar. It is said that before Nasru'd Din's death the Shaikh appeared to him in his dream and advised him to entrust the charge of the Rishi's *Khanqah* at Chrar to Malik Jogi Raina¹⁴⁸, who was one of the nobles of the royal court and who used often to visit Nuru'd Din and later Nasru'd Din¹⁴⁹. In accordance with the command of the Shaikh, Nasru'd Din on his death bed nominated Raina as his successor¹⁵⁰. He breathed his last in

855/1451¹⁵¹ and was buried next to his preceptor at Chrar¹⁵².

Qiyamu'd Din

Qiyamu' d Din was another outstanding disciple of Shaikh Nuru'd Din¹⁵³. He associated himself with the holymen¹⁵⁴ right from his childhood but he had no formal education¹⁵⁵. Qiyamu' d Din under the advice of Shaikh Nuru'd Din took up residence at the village of Manzgam, in the modern district Anantnag (Islamabad). There he established a cell near a spring called Dudh-Pokar¹⁵⁶. He subjected himself to all kinds of hardships and austere penances as was the practice with other Rishies. That reduced him to skin and bone. On being asked why he had reduced himself to that state, Qiyamu'd Din burst in to tears and said, "I am not literate enough to teach or guide anyone; I have not read the Qur'an; if I could, I might get close to Allah. What other form of worship remains, but to enfeeble myself, to abandon food and to practice austerities? Thus, I might move Allah to forgive me my sins".¹⁵⁷

Qiyamu'd died at the same village Manzgam, and was buried there. However, sources are silent about his date of death.

References

1. Ali bin Hamid Kufi, *Chach-Nama*, Eng. tr. K. Mirza, p. 160.
2. Jonaraja, *Rajatarangani*, p. 32.
3. *Chach Nama*, Eng. tr., H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, I, P. 144. cf. A. Q. Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*.
4. *Chach Nama*, Pp.193-4
5. *Ibid.*, p.55-6
6. *Ibid*; p. 160
7. *Idem*
8. Shakalbar or "Shakalba" is identified by Cunningham with "Kuller Kahar" in the salt range, which at that time belonged to Kashmir (cf. *Archaeological Survey of India* II, p.192 and V. PP.79-85.)
9. Cf. Elliot; *op.cit* I, p. 444
10. Balazuri, *Futuhu'l Buldan*, pp. 445-6.
11. Abul Fazl, *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, I., P. 270.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 350.
13. *Idem*.
14. Stein identifies this place with "Tohi" in Punch, near the border of present Kashmir Valley. cf Kalhana; *Rajatarangani.*, I, p. 271n. Kalhana who has also described this invasion, however, does not speak of any conversion. But Baihaqi's statement may be an exaggeration, cannot be outrightly rejected also. It seems probable that some of Mahmud's soldiers might have stayed behind and settled in Kashmir.
15. Kalhana., *Rajatarangani.*, I, p. 357.
16. *Ibid.*, II, p. 70.
17. *Ibid*; pp.68-69.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-5.
19. "The people of the Province (Kashmir) do not kill animals nor spill blood; so if they want to eat meat they get the saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher." (H.Yule, *Travels of Marcopolo*, I, p. 167).
20. Kalhana; *Rajatarangani.*, I, p. 357.
21. Jonaraja gives Shah Mir's ancestary as follows; Partha, his son Babhruvahana, his scion Kurashaha (probably Khwur Shah) his son,

- Taharata (Tahir), his son Shah Mir. Jonaraja, *Rajatarangani*, Eng. tr. J.C. Dutta, (*Kings of Kashmir*)p.15.
22. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr. Brajendranath, III, pt. II, p. 633. Nizamu'd Din and Firishta gives Shah Mir's ancestry as' Shah Mir son of Tahir Ali, son of Karshashab son of Nekruz who was a descendant of Arjuna.
 23. Badayuni; *Muntakhabu'l Tawarikh*, Pp. 401-402.
 24. *Baharistan-i-Shah-i*, p. 9b.
 25. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 91b.
 26. *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*, p. 31b.
 27. *Tarikh-i-A'zami*, p. 27.
 28. Tahir, *op.cit.*, p. 9b.
 29. *Ibid.* p. 10a.
 30. Jonaraja, *Rajatarangani*, p. 15.
 31. One of these foreign invasions was lead by Zulju or Zalqadar Khan and the other by "Achala". The sources are not unanimous about the origin of the former who invaded Kashmir at the head of a large army in 1320 A.D. during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-1320). The Persian chronicles of Kashmir assert that Zulju was a Mongol from Turkistan (e.g. *Baharistan-i-Shah-i*; f.10b, *Nawadiru'l Akhar*; p. 14a). About "Achala" the Persian chronicles assert that his army was the army of Turks (*lashkar-i-Turk*) (*Tarikh-i-A'zami*; p.32 and *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, II, p. 15). But modern scholars (like, G.M.D. Sufi; *Kashir*, I., p. 128, Muhibbu'l Hasan, *Kashmir under Sultans*; p. 41). have not identified the Turks of Persian chronicles, but it seems that they too were Mongols who had previously invaded the valley more than once.
 32. Jonaraja; *Rajatarangani*; Pp. 5-15.
 33. G. M. D. Sufi; *op.cit.*, I, 0.82.
 34. P. N. K. Bazmai, *op.cit.*, p. 524.
 35. Mulla Ahmad was made the first Shaikhu'l Islam in Kashmir and he is the author of two books, *Fatawa-i-Shihabi* and *Shihab-i-Saqib* (thaqib). Bamzai, *op.cit.*, p. 525.
 36. Saadat, *Bulbul Shah*, p. 7,23.
 37. Bamzai, *op.cit.*, p.526.
 38. It was originally founded by Ziya-ud-din Abu'l Suhrawardi (d.1167) but was popularised by his immediate disciple and nephew Shaikh Shihabu'd Din Abu Hafs "Umar bin Abdullah". The famous "*Awarifu'l M'arif*" is the most celebrated work of Shihabu'd Din Suhrawardi. For his other works see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, p.506.

39. Pir Hasan *op.cit.*, III, p.4 Muhiu'd Din Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 4. Mishkati calls him Saiyid Abdul Rahman, cf., *Asraru'l Abrar* p. 44a.
40. Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit.*, p.30.
41. Rinchana (Sadru'd Din) ascended the throne in 1320 and ruled for a period of three years.
42. Muhiud Din Miskin, *op.cit.*, p.7, Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit*, p. 30.
43. Amin Ahmad Razi, *op.cit.*, p. 18b, Pir Hasan Shah, *op.cit.* II, p.149.
44. Tahir, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p.15b, Pir Hasan Shah, *Ibid*.
45. Amin Ahmad Razi, *op.cit.*, p. 19b.
46. Muhammad Hussain Qadiri, *Futuh-i-Qadri*, p. 200b.
47. Abdul Wahhab, *op.cit.*, p.201a.
48. Muhiu'd-Din Misk in, *op.cit.*, p. 48.
49. Dawud Mishkati, *op.cit*, p.186 a.
50. Pir Hasan Shah, *op.cit.* III, P.55.
51. *Ibid*, p.56. Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's Salikin*, p. 65.
52. Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, p.67 Ishaq Qadiri, *Chillatu'l Arifin*, p. 89b.
53. Shaikh Hamza was born in 900/1404 at Tujr in the modern district of Baramulla.

His father Uthman Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Shaikh Isma'il Kubravi at Srinagar.
54. Dawud Khaki, *Dasturu's-Salikin*, p. 45. Ishaq Qadiri, *op.cit*, p. 74b.
55. Dawud Khaki, *op.cit*, p. 63 Pir Hasan Shah, *op.cit*, p.202.
56. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op cit*. p.23.
57. Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit.*, Pp.105-6, Dawud Mishkati *Asraru'l Abrar*, p. 143a.
58. Mohiu'din Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 154. Pir Hasan Shah, *op.cit*, p. 212.
59. He hailed from the well known Ganai family of Kashmir, used "Khaki" as his pen-name. He lost his parents while he was still young but he continued his education by earning his livelihood as a scribe, a craft in

which his father, Hasan Ganai, had been famous. (Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*, Pp. 335b, 336a, Muhiu'd Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, p. 157)

60. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 336a. Ishaq Qadiri, *op.cit.*, p. 336a.
61. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 336 a. Ishaq Qadiri, *op.cit.*, p. 336a.
62. Ishaq Qadiri, *op.cit.*, p. 50b.
63. Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit.*, p. 109 Dawud Mishkati, *op.cit.*, p. 168b.
64. For his complete biography see Abdul Rahman Jami, *Nafhatu'l Uns*, Pp. 244.
65. Abdul Wahab, *Futuh-i-Kubraviya*, p. 76a M. Hussain Qadiri, *Futuh-i-Qadiri*, p. 200b.
66. Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit.*, p. 54. Abdul Wahab, *Ibid*.
67. Pir Hasan Shah, *op.cit.*, III., p.40. M. Hussain Qadiri, *op.cit.*, p.192a.
68. Dawud Mishkati, *Asraru'l Abrar*, p. 101a. Pir hasan Shah, *op.cit.*, p.34.
69. *Ibid.*, Pp. 101b-102a. *Ibid*, Pp. 34, 37.
70. Pir Hasan, *op. cit.*, III, P. 38.
71. Rizvi, S. A. A., *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Agra, 1965, P. 183 with reference to Muhammad Mu'inuddin, *Mirat-e-Taliba*, Pp. 84-86.
72. Rizvi, S.A.A., Pp. 183-185.
73. Abdul Rahman Jami, *Nafahatu'l-Uns*.
74. Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, III, p. 61; Muhiuddin Miskin, *Tarikh Kabir*, p. 51.
75. *Ibid*.
76. *Ibid*.
77. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 62; Muhiuddin Miskin, *op.cit*, p. 51.
78. Pir Hasan, *op cit.*, p. 62., Mahiuddin Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 52; *Tazkarah-i-Auliya-e-Kashmir* (Tarikh-e-Hasan by Pir Hassan), Srinagar, 1989,

p. 62.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Tazkarah-i-Aulia-e-Kashmir* (Tarikh-e-Hasan by Pir Hasan), Srinagar, 1989, p. 54; A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

81. Muhiuddin Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

82. *Tazkarah-i-Aulia-e-Kashmir* (Tr. Tarikh-e-Hasan by Pir Hasan), Srinagar, 1989, p. 53 and 54.

83. Mohiuddin Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

84. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 131; Muhammad Azam, *Tarikh-i-Azmi*, p. 106 (as referred to by A. Q. Rafiqi).

85. *Tazkarah-i-Aulia-i-Kashmir*, p. 54.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki, Hazrat Mir Nazuk Niazi Qadri, *Hamara Abad*; 1991-92.

88. *Ibid*, p. 120.

89. *Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki*, *op cit.*, p. 120, A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 132; *Tarikh-e-Hasan*, Vol. III, 248.

90. *Tazkarah-i-Aulia-i-Kashmir* (Tarikh-e-Hasan), p. 275; A. Q. Rafiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

91. *Tazkarah-i-Aulia-i-Kashmir* (Tarikh-e-Hasan), p. 275.

92. *Op.cit.*, p. 275, A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

93. Please refer to Dawud Mishkati, *Asrarul Abrar*, p. 54a, as referred to by A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

94. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, Pp. 602 and 603.

95. A.Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, 134, with reference to Dawud Mishkati, *op.cit.*, p. 45a-b.

96. A.Q.Rafiqi, *op. cit.*, with reference to Abdul Wahab, *Fatuhah-i-Kubraviya*, p. 82b.

97. Refer to Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit.*, p. 87.
98. Refer to Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, 101.
99. Refer to Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*; *Dawud Mishkati*, *Asrarul Abrar* etc.
100. Refer to Monie Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
101. Muhiuddin Miskin, *Tarikh-e-Kabir*, p. 125; (*Tazkara-e-Auliya-e-Kashmir*, p. 115).
102. Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-e-Hasan*, III, p. 125; (*Tazkara-e-Auliya-e-Kashmir*, p. 115).
103. A.Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 137 and 138; cf. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 117. Note: Pir Hasan writes that Lalla herself put her breast into the mouth of the baby and Shaikh Nuruddin immediately started to suck the milk.
104. *Nur Nama* edited by Muhammad Amin Kamil, p. 172; A. Q. Rafiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
105. Pir Hasan, *op. cit.*, III, p. 117 (*Tazkarah-e-Auliya-e-Kashmir*, p. 117 & 118); Mohiuddin Miskin, *op.cit.*, 93).
106. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, p. 118 (*Tazkarah-e-Auliya-e-Kashmir*, p. 118).
107. *Op. cit.*
108. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, Pp. 139 & 139 with reference to: Abdul Wahhab, *Futihat-i-Kubraviya*, p. 86b; Dawud Mishkati, *Asrarul Abrar*, p. 60b; Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*, p.139b.
109. Refer to Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*.
110. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, p. 119; *Tazkarah-e-Aulia-e-Kashmir*, p. 119; *Dawud Khaki*, *Dasturus Salikin*, p. 213; *Dawud Khaki*, *Rishi Nama*, p. 43a; etc.
111. Muhammad A'zam, *Tarikh-e-A'zami*, p. 64.
112. Refer to foot note No. 75 above.
113. *Nur Nama*, p. 53 (poem 33) cf. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 147.
114. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

115. Refer to *Nur Nama*, Pp. 63, 169, 215 etc., as quoted by A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, Pp. 146 and 147.
116. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, 121; *Tazkarah-e-Aulia-e-Kashmir*, p. 120.
117. Pir Hasan, *op. cit.*, p. 122; *Tazkarah-e-Aulia-e-Kashmir*, p. 123.
118. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 99; *Tazkarah-e-Aulia-e-Kashmir*, p. 125; A.Q.Rafiqi; *op.cit.*, p.148
119. cf. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 288; A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 148.
120. *Nur-Nama*, p. 39 (Poem 6); A.Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
121. *Nur-Nama*, p. 1454 (Poem 123); A.Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 152.
122. *Nur-Nama*, A.Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 153.
123. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
124. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 154.
125. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, Pp. 156 and 157.
126. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 156.
127. A. Q. Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 156 and 157.
128. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, Pp. 126-136; *Tazkarah-e-Aulia-e-Kashmir*.
129. *Op.cit.*, p. 136.
130. Muhammad A'zam, *Tarikh-i-A'zami*, p. 65; Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. III, p. 128 etc.
131. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, p. 128 etc.
132. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, p. 129 etc.
133. Abdul Fazal, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 172.
134. Saiyid 'ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 36a. Baba Nasib, *op cit.*, p. 292 a.
135. *Ibid.*, p.20b; *Ibid.*, p. 292 a.
136. Abdul Wahhab, *op.cit.*, p. 96b.

137. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 133; *Muhiu'd-Din Miskin, op.cit.*, p.104.
138. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III, p. 133, Baba Nasib, *Rishi Nama*, p. 294 b.
139. Baba Nasib, *ibid*, Pp. 294b-295a Abdul Wahab, *op.cit.*, Pp.98b, 99a
Kanchan is used for medical dressing and draws out the sept from
pimples and boils.
140. Baba Nasib, *Ibid*; Pp. 324 b-335a Abdul Waha'b, *Ibid.*, p.99a.
141. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 295a.
142. Saiyid Ali, *op.cit.*, Pp.39b-40a.
143. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 295a.
144. Saiyid 'Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 4a.

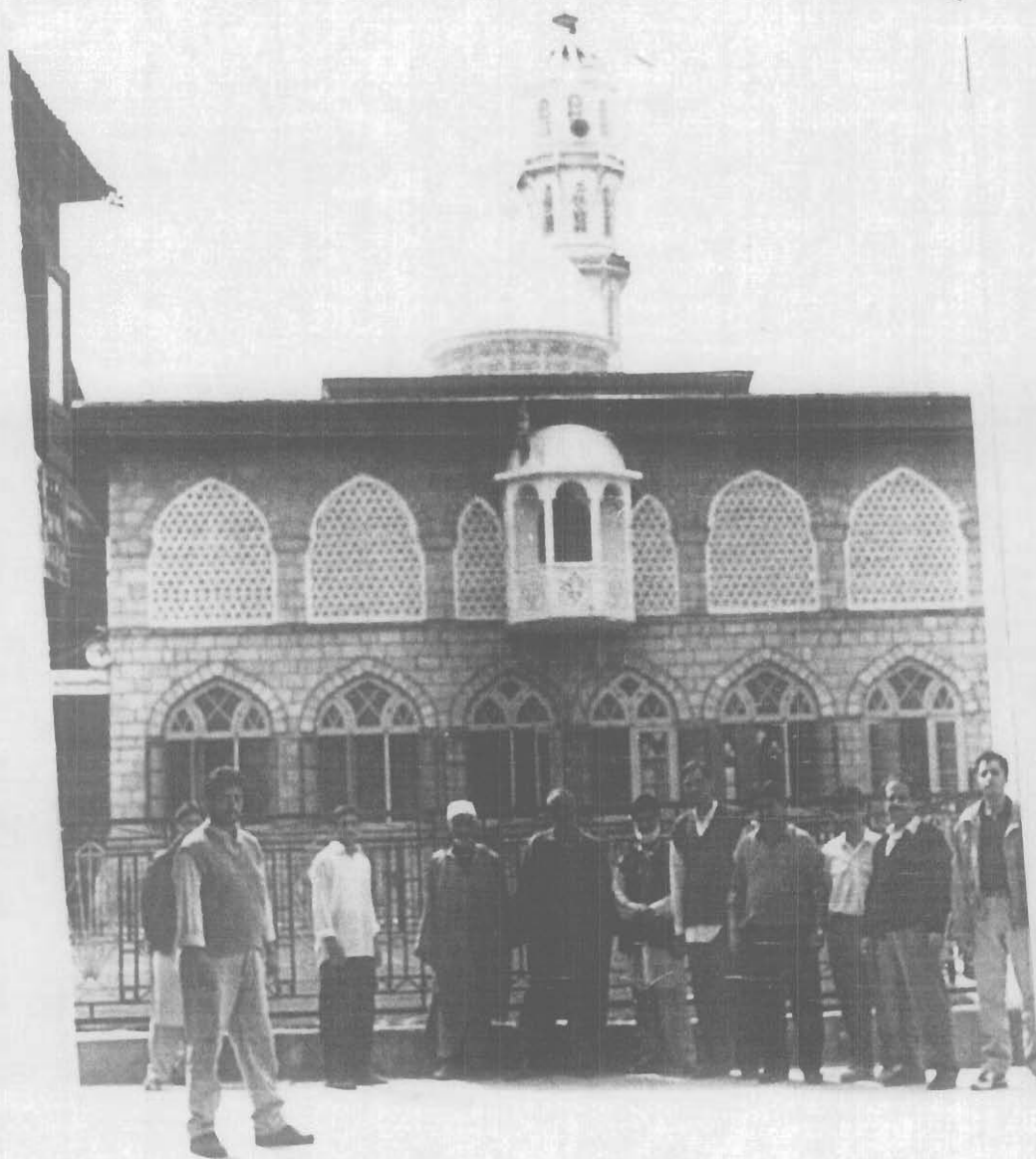
(The pargana Yech adjoins Srinagar on the South-west.)

145. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 226b.
146. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 297a.
147. Nur-Nama, ed. Muhammad Amin Kamil, Pp. 111, 130 (Poems 134,
168).
148. Muhiu'd Din Miskin, *op.cit.*, p. 105 at another place Miskin calls him
Jogi Raina *Ibid.*, p.114.
149. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 170.
150. *Ibid*; p. 135.
151. Muhiu'd Miskin, *op cit.*, p. 105 Pir Hasan, *op cit.*, p. 135.
152. *Idem.*
153. Abdul Wahab, *op.cit.*, p. 92b.
154. Baba Nasib, *op.cit.*, p. 82a.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 183a.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 182a.
157. Baba Nasib., *op.cit.*, p. 183a.

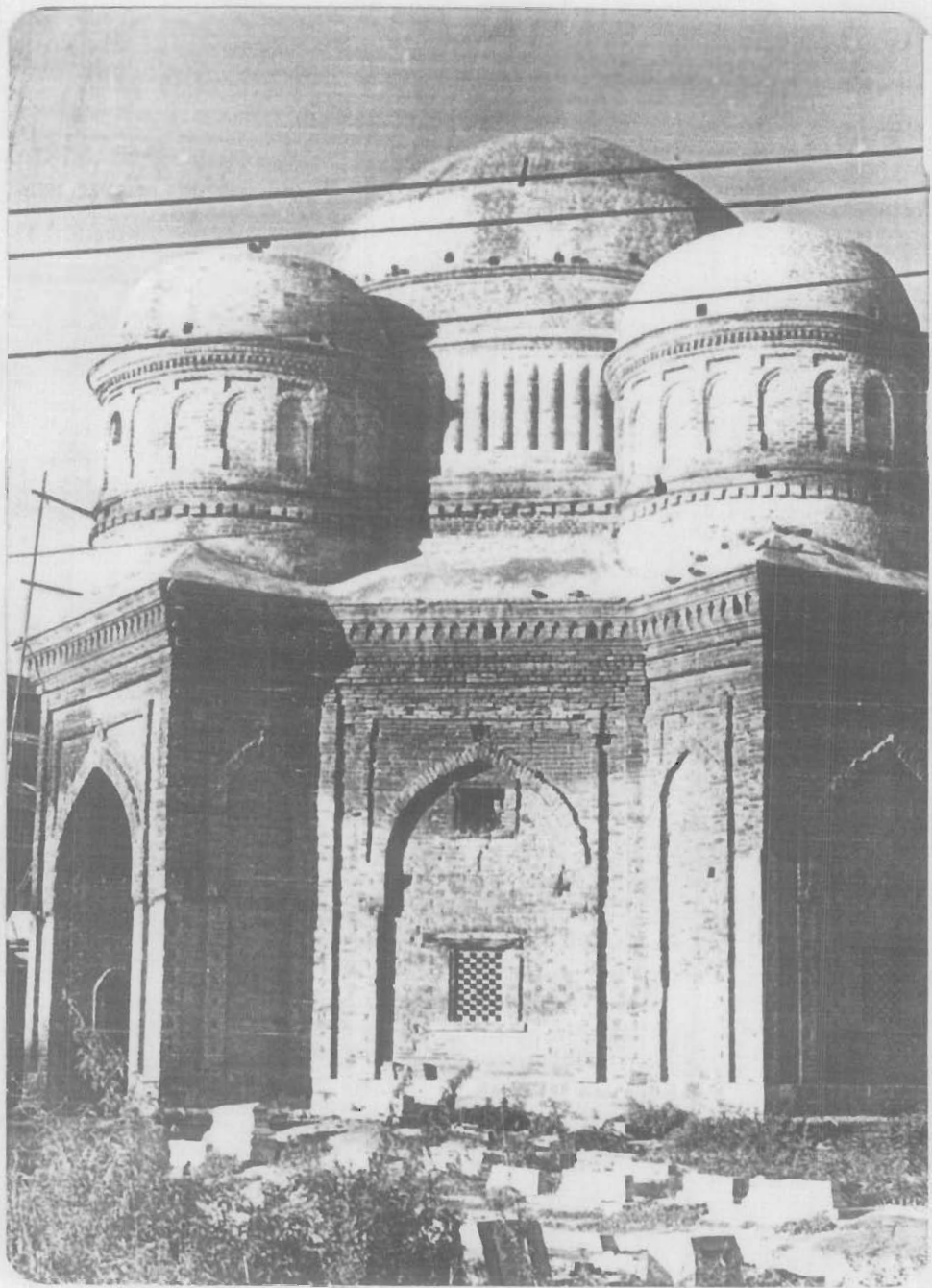
ATTACHED ARE PHOTOGRAPHS
OF VARIOUS KHANGAHS
DISCUSSION
ON WHICH IS INCLUDED
IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER



KH. Habibullah Nawshahri's Shrine,
Srinagar



Athar Sharif Shahri Kalashpora
Srinagar.



Budshah's Tomb

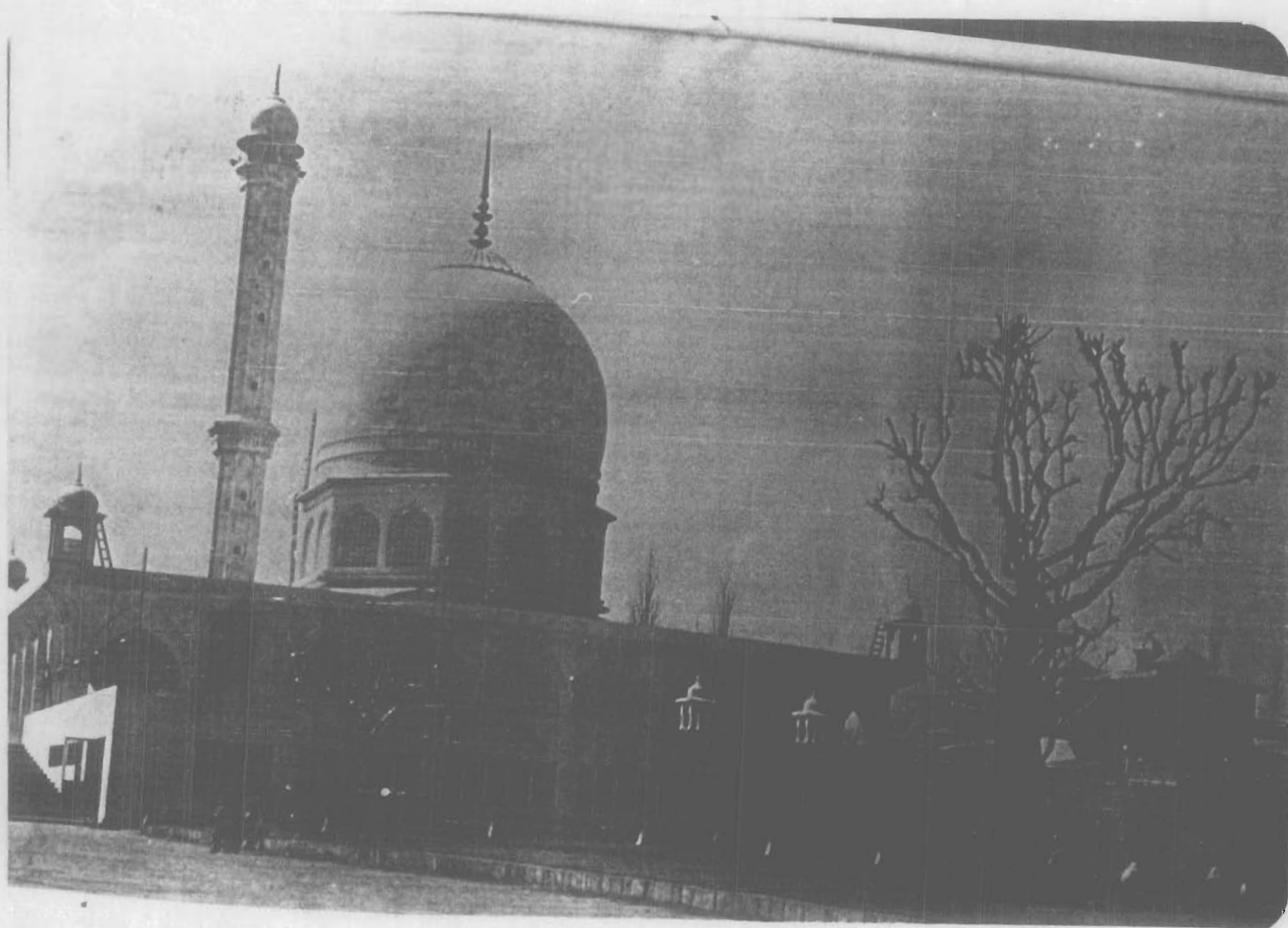
Srinagar.

King Zainul Abidin's Tomb

103



Alim Sahib's Shrine
Narwarah Zaddah, Srinagar



Shrine at Hazrat bal,
Srinagar.



Mirza Kamil Sahib Hawal
Srinagar.



Dastagir Sadiq ✓
Khawar, Srinagar



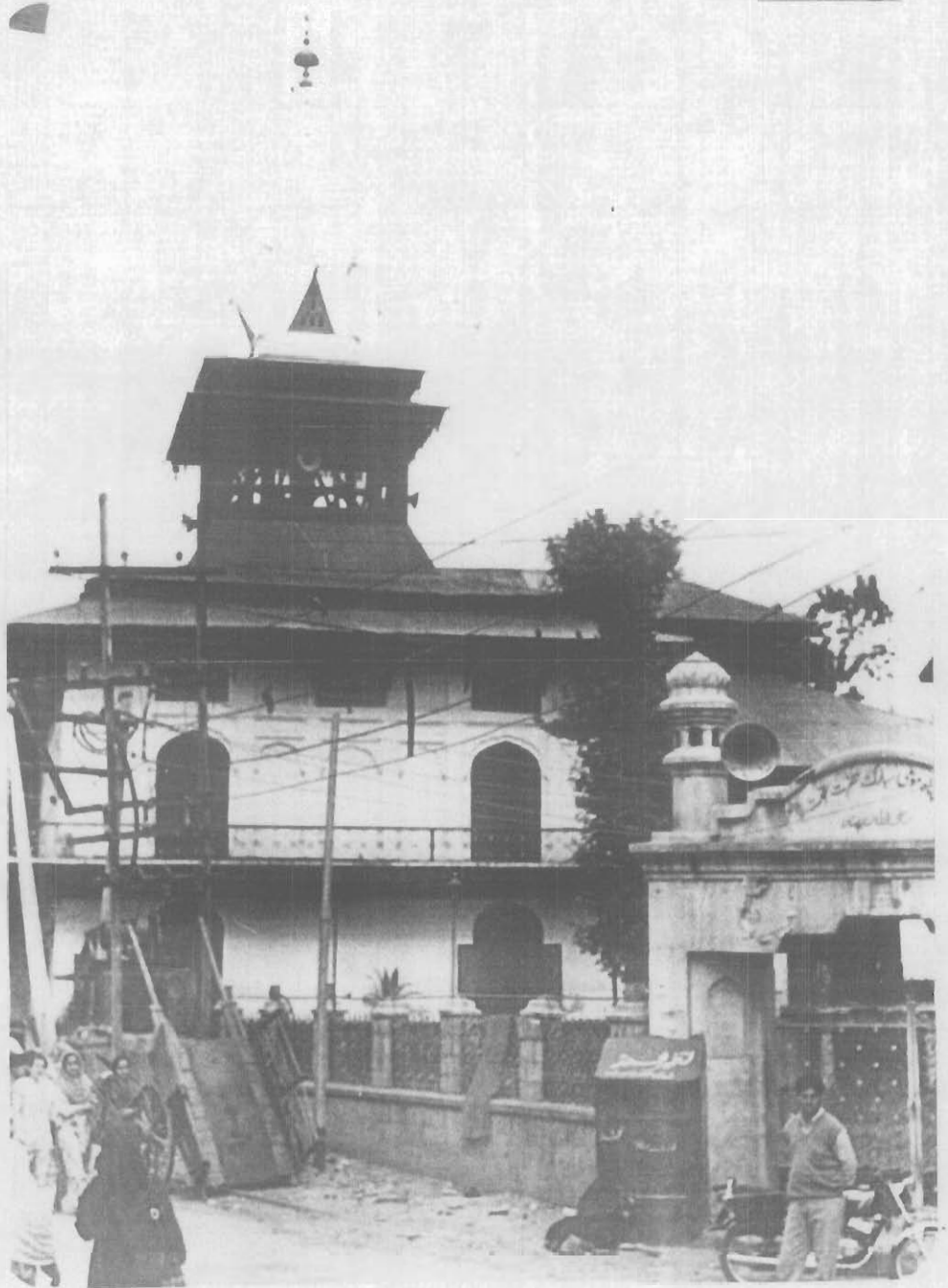
Jenab Sahib, Soura
Srinagar.



Shrine of Kaka Sahib
Kani Mazār, Srīngar



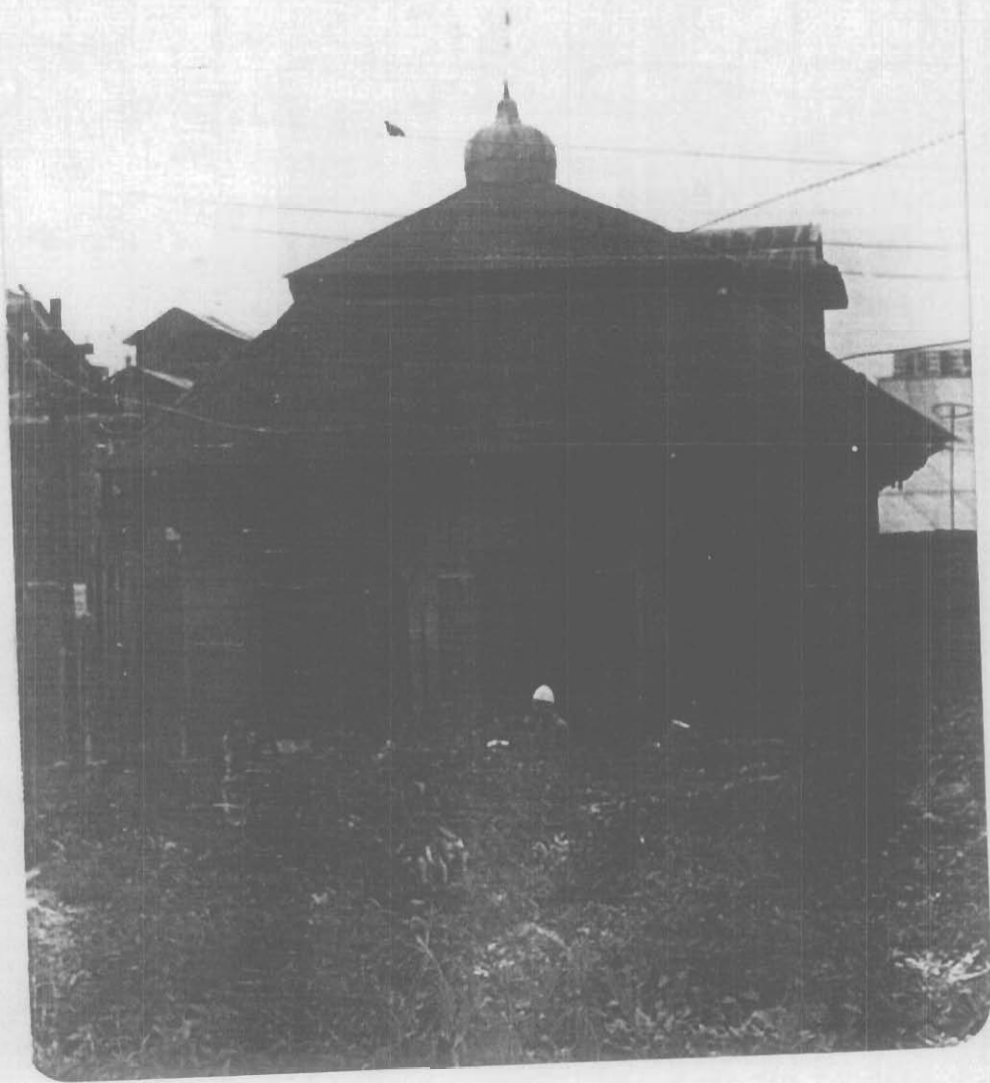
Shrine of Mahdūm, Ishib
Srinagar



Shrine of Rah Bib Sahib
Aali Kadal, Srinagar.



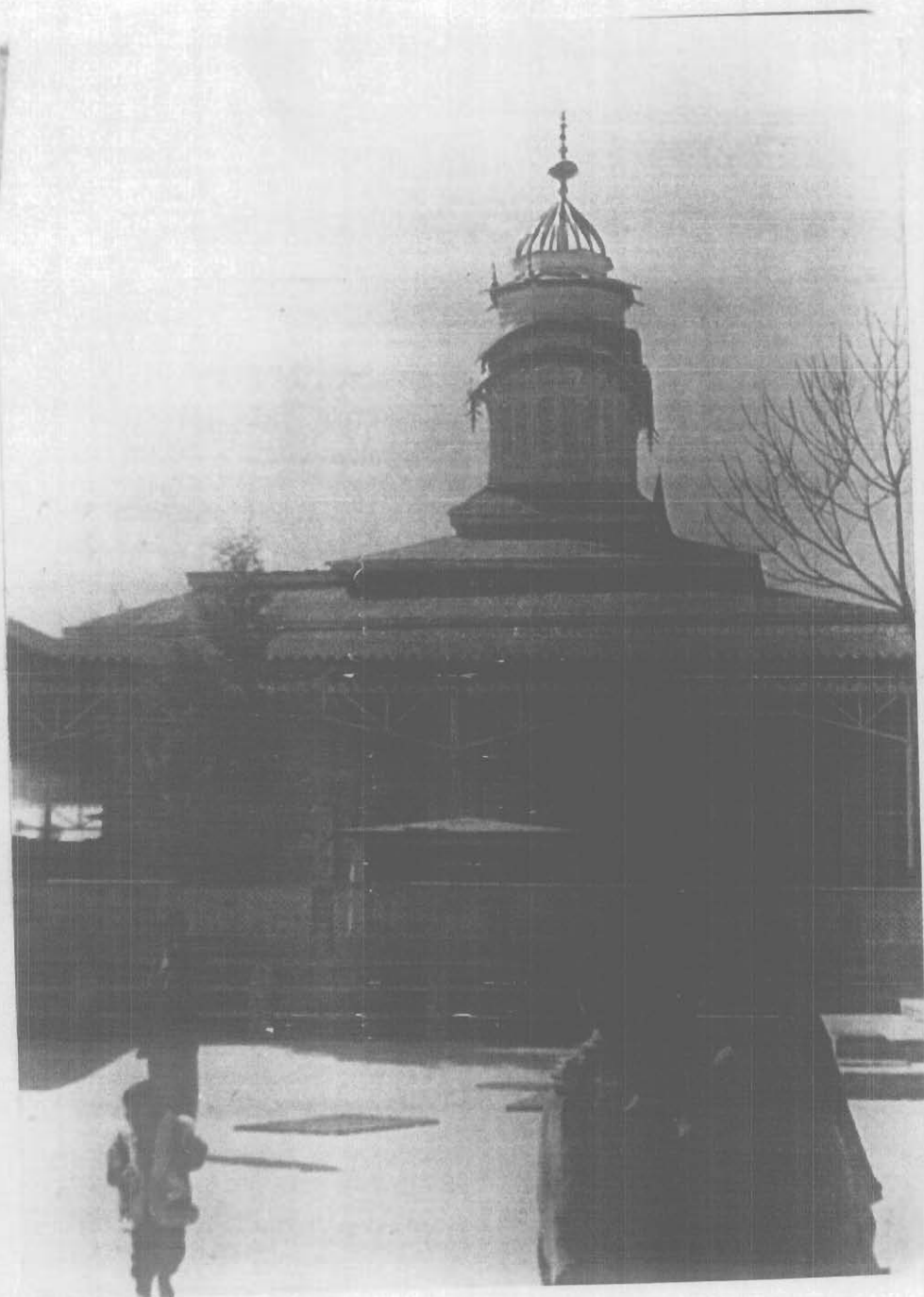
Holy Relic being demonstrated at Harrold.
 Swindon



Bahā'u'd-Dīn Sahib's Shrine.
Srinagar ✓



Shrine of Sayyid Bulbul Shah
Srinagar



Shrine of Makhdum Sahib.
Srinagar



Shrine of Nagshband Sahib
Khawaja Bazar, Srinagar.



Saiyid Sa'eed Sahib ✓
Kawdara, Srinagar.



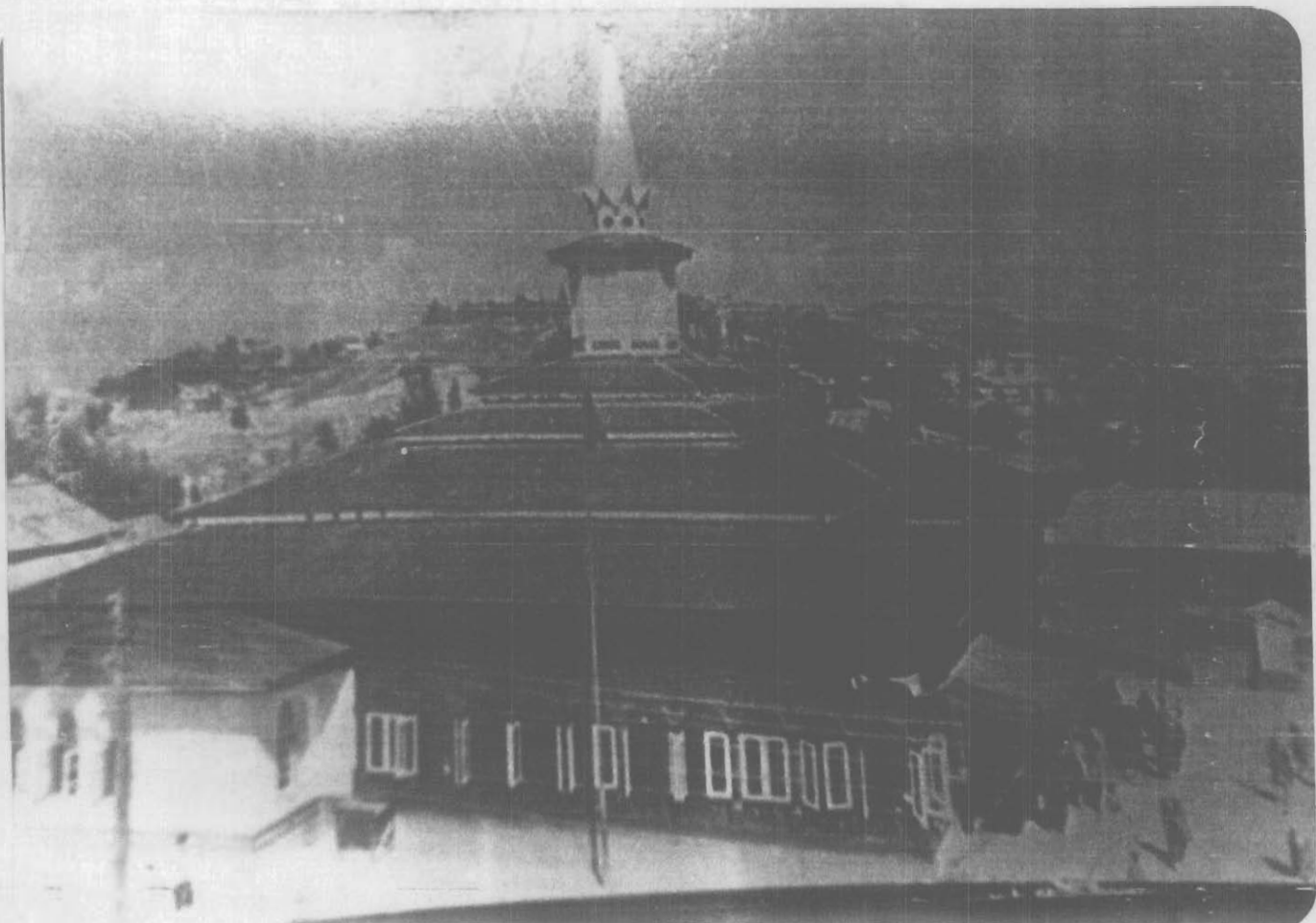
Shrine of Pradim Sahib, Hawal, Srinagar.



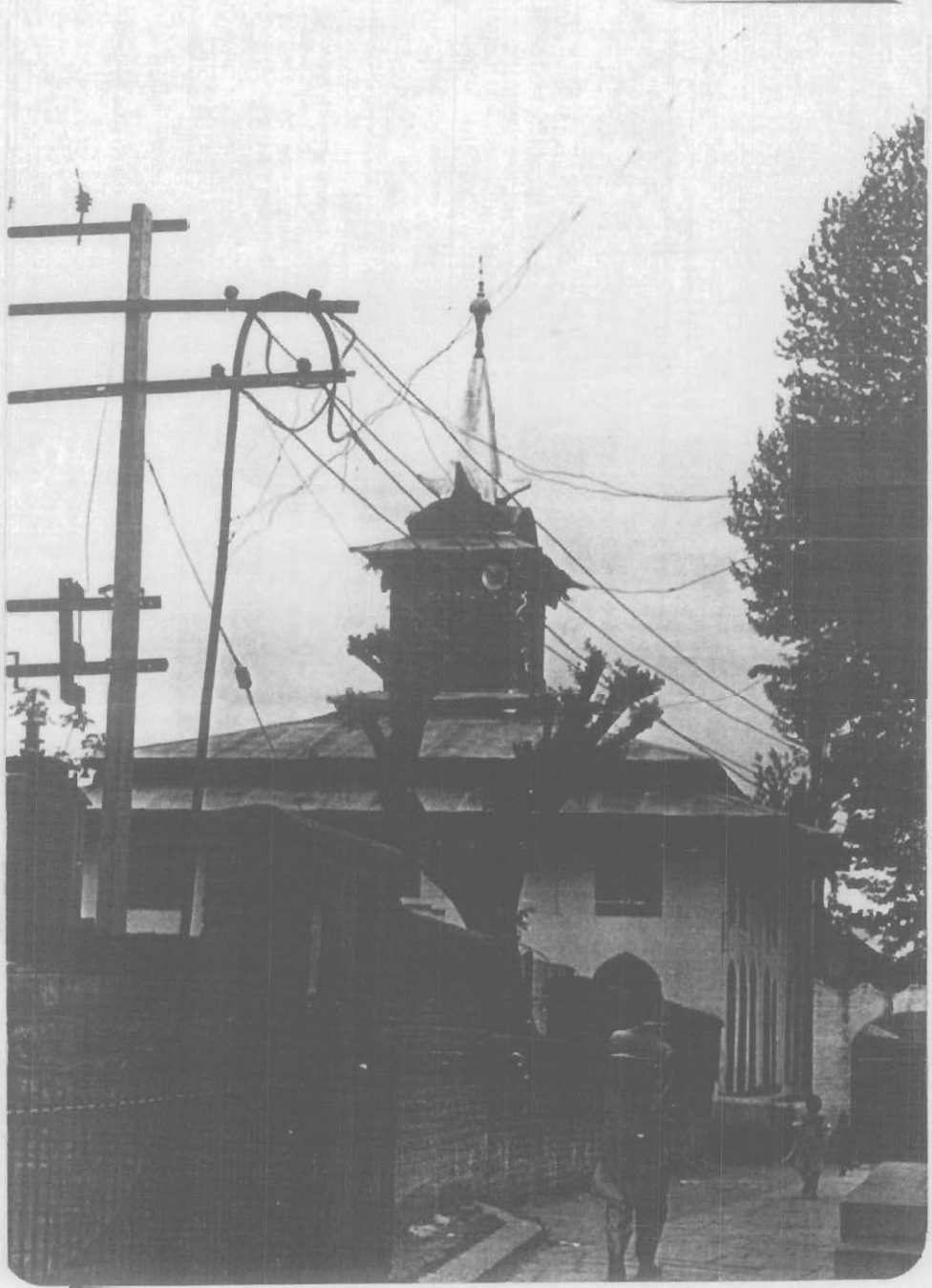
Shrine of Owaisi Sahib ✓
Ali Kadal Srinagar.



Khagah Mullah
Sringar.



Shrine of Shaikh Nur-ud-Din
Chrar Sharif, Kashmir ✓



Shrine of Kh. Habibullah Naushehri
Srinagar.

Chapter - II

Saiyid Ali Hamadani & his impact

a) Life and works of Saiyid Ali Hamadani

Saiyid Ali Hamadani, who became popular in Kashmir as Amir-e-Kabir, Shah-e-Hamadan and Ali Thani was born at Hamadan (Iran) on 12th Rajhab 714 A.H. (22nd of October, 1314 A.D.)¹. His father, Saiyid Shihab-ud-Din, is said to have been a haakim (important Official) in Hamadan². However, some scholars are of opinion that Shihab-ud-Din was close to the throne but was not among rulers himself³. The geneology of Hamadani has been recorded by Ja'far Badakhshi in these words:

... ورواين السيد شهاب الدين بن محمد بن علي بن يوسف بن شرف بن محمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن حسن بن حسين بن جعفر المبرين عبد الله بن زاهد بن حسين بن علي زين العابدين بن حسين الشهيد رضي الله تعالى عنهم وآلهم ...

Hadrat Ali (Rad A.)



Imam Hussain



Ali (Zain-ul-Abidin)



Al-Hussain



Zahid



Abdullah



Zaffar al Hujjah



Hussain
 ↓
 Hassan
 ↓
 Ali
 ↓
 Muhammad
 ↓
 Abdullah
 ↓
 Ja'ffar
 ↓
 Muhammad
 ↓
 Muhib
 ↓
 Sharaf
 ↓
 Yosuf
 ↓
 Ali
 ↓
 Muhammad
 ↓
 Shihab-ud-Din
 ↓
 Saiyid 'Ali Hamdani



Hamadani's mother Saiyadnah Fatimah's geneology is also traced back to the Prophet Mohammad (SAW)

حضرت - بیات از مومنین - قدس الله سره و زاد او را از جانب والده و قدس و نسب حضرت مصطفی صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم میر سید ...

5

Hadrat Saiyid (Rah.A.) said, "From our maternal side our geneology reaches upto Hadrat Muhammad (SAW) through seventeen generations")

Hamadani received his early education from his maternal-uncle Saiyid Ala-ud-Din, great saint of his times. Hamdani himself comments;

”... و مرا خالی بود که وی را به لقب سید طلاء الدین گفتندی و او از اولیاء اللہ بود بہ حسن تربیت او مرا در صغیر سن قرآن محفوظ گشت۔
 و در امور والد التفات نمی کردم بسبب کہ او حاکم بود در ہمدان لغت بہ سلاطین و اعمان.....“

...⁶

“.....And I had a maternal uncle who was called Saiyid Ala-ud-Din and he was amongst the devotees of Allah. I memorised the Qur'an through his good efforts and I did not interfere in the matters of my father because he was a *Hakim* (officer) in Hamadan and was more disposed towards salatin and rulers...”

Saiyid Ali memorised the whole Qur'an at a very young age⁷. His maternal uncle introduced him to Shaikh Mazdaqani⁸ when he was twelve years of age. Mazdaqani taught him elementary principles of Sufism. He then sent him to Taqiu'd Din Ali Dusti (d 733 or 739 A.H.) a disciple of Alau'd Daula Simnani⁹.

It is said that when Hamadani saw Dusti sitting alone saying Subah (morning) *dhikr* and Rawah (evening) *dhikr* and costantly moving his head, asked him why he was doing so. Dusti replied that Shaykh Mazdaqani had ordered him to practice it.¹⁰

Hamdani then requested Dusti to be included among his devoted servants. After three days, when Hamadani was taken back to Mazdaqani on the formers request, the Shaikh advised him as follows:

”اگر برائی حمدوی در خانقہ آمدی من
 از سی قدم بسازم کہ مرا بنایدہ از خدمت
 تعمیر کنم و اگر از برائے خاوی آمدی کنش این غلام
 سیاه کہ اوست کناس خانقہ ہمیش
 او باید نیاد تا بمقصود رسی“

11

Hamdani is also reported to have received education from Alau'd Daula Samnani.¹²

Mazdaqani aimed at obliterating all traces of ego, if any, and make the person

totally sub-servient to Allah. In due course of time Hamadani was put in chains and in isolation. He was kept on very slim diet. This practice was known as *chilla-e-zindan*. Later, he was ordered to bring water for ablution of Shayukh of the *Khanqah*¹³.

Hamdani remained with Mazdaqani for six years and all these years were spent in prayers¹⁴. After this, he again went to Dusti's *Khanqah* in Hamadan and spent two years there. After Dusti's death Hamadani returned to Mazdaqani who blessed him with orders to undertake world tour¹⁵.

Travels of S.A.Hamadani

Sayyid Ali Hamadani, like most of his predecessors, travelled extensively¹⁶. He is said to have performed the pilgrimage twelve times¹⁷. Hamadani himself comments about his travels in these words;

دیدم در حد طلاب با وفاق را که در اطراف دنیا باشند را شاد نمایم زیرا که در اقامت این نوع استغفار، اوقاصه میرنگرد.	"سه بار از مشرق تا مغرب سفر کردم بسی چنانچه در هر یک دیدم و شنیدم هر بار که شهری و لایق دیدم در سم دعوت اهل آن موضع طریق دیگر
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Jafar Badakhshi mentions many places that were visited by Hamadani such as; Mazdaqan¹⁹, Khatlan²⁰, Bulkh²¹, Badakhshan²², Khata²³, Yezed²⁴, Syria²⁵, Baghdad²⁶, Hijaz²⁷, Rome²⁸, Turkistan²⁹ (Mawara-un-Nahr), Sarandeeep³⁰ (Sri Lanka).

Hamadani is reported to have met 1400 Awliya³¹ (pious saints of Islam) during his visits to these places. Thus, he got first hand experience of various cultures and nations.

The most important journey of Hamadani, however, was his visit to Kashmir. According to two later authorities³², he visited Kashmir three times, in 774/1372-73, 781/1379-80 and 785/1383-84. Both these sources do not, however, mention any activity of Hamadani during his first two visits. According to the legend Hamadani is said to have travelled three times all over the world³³, and the aforementioned two authorities seem to have based their account on

this story. Some modern scholars like Muhiu'd-Din Sufi³⁴ and Muhibbu'l-Hassan³⁵ agree with them, both relying on Miskin³⁶.

Some earlier sources are unanimous in opinion that Hamadani came to Kashmir only once. Mirza Haidar³⁷ (d.1551) and Abu'l-Fazl³⁸ mention only one visit of Hamadani to Kashmir, which occurred during the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd Din. However, these sources differ among themselves about the exact date of his arrival.

Some other authorities like the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*³⁹, Rafi'ud-Din Ahmad⁴⁰ and Haider Malik⁴¹ give 783/1381, as the date of Hamadani's arrival to Kashmir. This seems to be more reliable and reasonable as he (Hamadani) travelled extensively in the valley and must have spent a good deal of time here.

Causes behind Hamadani's visit to Kashmir.

Generally, two main causes are mentioned as motivation for Hamadani's visit to Kashmir.

1. Timur's threat
2. Religious zeal of Hamadani.

1. Timur's threat

Some reliable chroniclers of earlier times regard Timur's rise to power in Persia and Central Asia as the sole driving factor behind Hamadani's visit to Kashmir.

The author of *Risala Musturat* says that Saiyid Ali once told his disciples that twenty years later a great havoc would overtake that land and that they (Hamadani and his associates) would be banished from their country⁴². It is regarded as his reference to the rise of Timur.

Another, the oldest and most reliable source, also regards the rise of Timur in Mawara-un-Nahr as a compelling factor that forced Saiyid Ali and his associates to leave for Kashmir.

”اما ایتلانی شدید و بلانی دید که در ماورا النهر بآں جناب رسید تا بحدی کہ باو سبب جلاوطن وزید و عنان براق سیادت را بکشمیر کشید و اہل بیت شریف کہ بودند احباب آن جناب را جلا و اخلا و خطر آن مقامی مبارکش گشتند تا روز حساب“

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Maulana 'Abul Hai writes;

”رفع اختلاف بیند و بین ملامیر تیمور و رکان فی معنی الحکمہ فہدم کشمیر“

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“Differences arose between the Mir and Timur over power and he (former) left for Kashmir.”

The noted scholar-journalist M.J.Akbar writes;

*“The memory of Changiz and Halakoo was still part of the stories told to children when another great conqueror rose like a storm-Timur, the lame warrior who established himself at Samargand. Bulkh fell in 1369 A.D., Khurasan and Herat followed as the Mughal swallowed Persia and ruled on the principles of total fealty from every conquered subject. One group which refused were the 'Alawi Syeds of Persian city of Hamadan. Seven hundred of them left their native city to escape Timur and settled in Kashmir under the leadership of S.A. Hamadani, the great scholar and missionary of the Naqashbandi order of Sufis, Shah-e-Hamadani as he came to be popularly known was in the Renaissance mould, author of a more than hundred works, ranging from religion to jurisprudence to politics, physiognomy and philosophical poetry.”*⁴⁵

However, two observations of the noted scholar are contrary to facts; the differences arose in Turkistan and Mir Hamadani came to Kashmir from Khatlan and not Hamadan and secondly, Hamadani belonged to Kubravi order of sufis and not Naqashbandi order.

Timur's threat theory, however, has strongly been refuted by scholars like Prof. Shams-ud-din Ahmad and Dr. Farooq Ahmad Bukhari. Shams-ud-din Ahmad comments:

*"It is said that Mir Syed Ali Hamadani came to Kashmir out of Timur's fear. That is wrong. Shah-e-Hamadan came thrice to Kashmir and after every visit he returned home (then Khatlan). Kashmir was purely his Islamic mission."*⁴⁶

He further writes:

*"Anybody who conquered Persia or fought against her, the Iranian poets, literateurs and historians portray them as cruel, barbaric ruthless etc.; this happened with Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and Timur. Iranians have not forgiven even the "Arabs for Persian Conquest."*⁴⁷

*"Fact is that Timur was a pious Muslim... He had sympathy and special reverence for 'Ali Hamadani'. Stories of enmity between the Syed and Timur are concocted and false..."*⁴⁸

Saiyid Muhammad Farooq Bukhari also rejects the stories of enmity between Timur and Hamadani.⁴⁹

2. Religious Zeal of Hamadani

Many scholars regard Hamadani's visit to Kashmir as essentially an Islamic mission. The author of *Risala-Masturat* says that Saiyid Ali was guided by the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) about his Kashmir visit; He writes;

"امیر کبیر سید علی ہمدانی رو قبلہ نشہ بود کہ حضرت رسول اکرم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم حاضر شدند و گفتند یا دلہی در کشمیر رو و مردم آنجا مسلمان کن اگر چہ بعضی بشرط اسلام مشرف اند اما بدتر از کافر"

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One more factor which appears to me responsible for Hamadani's visit to Kashmir is that the socio-political and religious atmosphere was favourable for his missionary and team work. Rather it appears that environment prevailing in Kashmir at this juncture was definitely in need of a reformer, preacher, missionary, sufi, thinker and 'Aalim like Saiyid Ali Hamadani. Before his arrival, Kashmir had been ruled by a number of Muslim Salatin

like; Sadr-ud-din (Rinchen 1320-23)⁵¹, Shahmir (1339-1342)⁵², Alau-ud-din (1343-54)⁵³ and Shihab-ud-din (1354-73)⁵⁴, over many decades. The society was caste ridden.⁵⁵ Women were subjected to inhuman treatment. Sutee⁵⁶ and Devadasi⁵⁷ practices had become the order of the day. Widows were simply non-existent.⁵⁸ Buddhism had lost ground.⁵⁹ Hinduism was in decline.⁶⁰ The Muslim rulers and subjects were in need of great reform. Sultan Qutb-ud-din, used to visit Kali Shor-i-Mandir, wore Hindu dress and had wedded two wives who were real sisters.⁶¹

Salient features of Hamadani's Islamic mission in Kashmir.

Hamadni's mission can be regarded as ideal in the following respects:

a) Team work

An important aspect of his mission was that it was a team-work. He was accompanied by seven hundred Sadaat.⁶² There was a considerable number of scholars of high repute in his team. Among them figured Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani, to whom Saiyid wedded his own daughter; he was a great A'lim (scholar).⁶³ Some other prominent members were Shaykh Qawam-al-din, who was Saiyid's close companion till his last breath; Saiyid Hussain Simnani⁶⁴ who had been earlier deputed with Taj-ud-din⁶⁵ to report about the circumstances prevailing in Kashmir and who succeeded to influence Sultan Shihab-ud-din (1354-73)⁶⁶ and Sultan Qutb-ud-din (1373-89);⁶⁷ Saiyid Kamal, who taught Sharitat to Sultan Qutb-ud-din; Saiyid Jamal-ud-din, who was a Muhaddith;⁶⁸ Saiyid Muhammad Kazim also known as Saiyid Qazi, emerged as Chief Librarian; Saiyid Muhammad Baihaqi; Saiyid Muhammad Ainposh, Saiyid Baha-ud-din and Saiyid Muhammad Balkhi.

This shows that Saiyid Ali Hamadani had selected a highly worthy team for his mission. Besides 'Ulama' were included in his team artisans, craftsmen and other technical hands who alongwith religious merit brought economic prosperity to Kashmir.

b) Peaceful mission

Historians are unanimous that Saiyid Ali Hamadani's mission was by and large peaceful⁶⁹. He did not use sword or power for the spread of Islam. Alongwith his capable associates he adopted all the peaceful measures to spread the message of Islam. Historians have not cited even a single example of any kind of forcible propagation although it is undeniable that he had created enormous influence on Sultan Qutb-ud-din himself who could render him considerable military assistance if the Syed so desired.

c) Conversion

At the time the Syed arrived in Kashmir morality was at its lowest ebb.⁷⁰ The shattered economy, prevalence of castes and sub-castes in society, exploitation of common people at the hands of the traditional Brahmins, frequent inter and intra group civil wars between various sections of society, confusing faiths and lawlessness had rendered average people helpless. People were ready to welcome any change in the system. Thus, a good number, about 37000⁷¹ people, got converted to Islam within a brief period of time. Rishinama pays the following tribute to Saiyid Ali Hamadani and his process of conversion:

اندراں دم ز زمره کفار شد هدایت بسی و هفت هزار
ظلمت کفر شد بنور بدل بسطادت رسید سعید ازل
ایں سعادت زده ازاں تنویر واسطر درمیاں امیر کبیر
یعنی آں بانی مسلمانی میر سید علی ہمدانی

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Though it is not an easy task to bring out the percentage of the conversions, but in the 14th century A.D. it is no ordinary number. Since some Muslim settlements were already there in Kashmir right from early Hindu period the addition to this by these large scale conversions means that Saiyid Ali turned the tide of history of Kashmir in favour of Muslims⁷³ which lead to the overall change in its demography. Bamzai attributes the process of conversion to deep scholarship and attainments of Hamadani. He says:

"That the Saiyid Ali Hamadani's deep scholarship and spiritual attainments were responsible for accelerating the process of the conversion of valley to Islam, goes without saying." ⁷⁴

Saiyid Ali's message of Islam appealed even to the privileged class of Brahmins. Some of them like Mazharul Eeqan Shaykh Sulaiman and his son Shaykh Ahmad Khushkhan became disciples of Mir Hamadani.⁷⁵

Prem Nath Bazaz treats Sadat as expounders of principles and dogmas of life and regards conversions as a consequence of ideological, intellectual and spiritual warfare. He comments in his own style;

"With the influx of such a large number of preachers and propagandists of the new faith, there ensued ideological, intellectual and spiritual warfare in the valley... The Sadat were expounders of principles, tenets, dogmas and philosophy of life... It was a challenge to the caste-ridden Brahmins who during the period of the spread of Buddhism, fiercely resisted the then new faith and tried to put back the hands of the clock of progress. But the protest of the reactionary Brahmins was a cry in wilderness, it was destined to fail. For Saivism had already prepared the ground for the seed of Islam to grow in the valley." ⁷⁶

d) Non-involvement in active politics

Saiyid Ali Hamadani desisted from participating in active politics of Kashmir.

Sultan Qutb-ud-din held him in great reverences but none of the sources gives even a single illustration of Hamadani's participation in active politics. However, it is worth mentioning that in this respect he confined himself to instruct and advice⁷⁷ the Sultan to run the state on just principles as laid down in Islamic Shari'at. Hamadani also devoted some sections of his *Zakhirat-ul Muluk* to discuss some main issues of Islamic politics. It clarifies that he was not unaware of political thought of Islam but his approach to it was like that of an 'alim⁷⁸ and he deliberately desisted from active participation in politics.

e) **Non-sectarian approach**

Hamadani preached the mainstream of Islamic thought. The writings of Saiyid Ali bear testimony to this fact:

”صحابہ کرام بعد از نبی بہترین خلق اند، بہترین ایشان چون ابو بکر، عمر و عثمان و علی رضوان اللہ تعالیٰ علیہم اجمعین“

tr. Suhaba (companions of the Prophet (SAW) are the best after the Prophet (SAW) and among them the best (worthy of obedience) are Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali (May Allah be pleased with all of them).

His predecessor in Kashmir, Saiyid Sharif-ud-din Bul-Bul Shah, belonged to Suhrawardi order of Sufis⁷⁹ and practiced Hanafi school of thought. Thus, Kashmiri Muslims, on the eve of Hamadani's arrival, followed this school of Islamic thought. Hamadani belonged to Shaf'i school of Islamic thought and was a Kubravi saint⁸⁰ but he did not disapprove any other practice of Kashmiri Muslims which was in conformity with Hanafi School. Instead, he carried on his Islamic mission of Daw'ah work purely on the principles of Qur'an and Sunnah. This approach helped him to utilize his efforts and services for the furtherance of Islam than wasting his energy in justifying one or the other school of thought. Saiyida Ashraf Zafar rightly concludes in this respect;

“In my view Saiyid Ali Hamadani was a magnanimous personality, above all prejudices of religious sectarianism. He had deep respect for awliya” (the pious saints). He loved the dynasty of the Prophet (SAW). He treated the ahl-e-bayet (members of the Prophet's dynasty) as glowing Sun and Suhaba (Companions of the Prophet) “as bright stars”⁸¹.

Hamadani's *Awrad-e-Fathiya* also substantiates that his approach was non-sectarian and his preaching consisted only of the mainstream of Islamic thought. He preaches in *his Awrad-e-Fathiya*:

وَالْفَرَن اِمَامًا وَالْكُصْبَةَ قِبْلَةً وَالْحُلُوَّةَ فَرِيضَةً وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ اَصْحَابًا وَالْحَقِيقَ وَالْفَارُوقَ وَبِذَلِكَ تَوْحِيدَ وَاللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلِيمٌ اَحْمَدٌ .

“...And the Qur'an is the guide, the Ka'ba is the Qibla (direction of prayer)

and (five times) prayers are obligatory and all believers are brethren."

Spiritualism

All along human history spiritualism has played an inevitable role in the framing and changing of the human behaviour. Professor M. Ishaq Khan comments about the societal dimensions of miracles and legends in these words:

*"Miracles usually refer to such individual events in the physical world as apparently contravene all known human or natural norms and are ascribed to a divine or supernatural cause. Although miracles are generally considered to have no "historical foundation" yet the eulogization of the supernatural gifts or qualities of the saints in medieval chronicles and hagiographies prompts us to conduct an enquiry with this least studied aspect of human environment. The repeated emphasis on the occurrence of miracles has, through centuries, led to the formation of particular structure of belief within whose boundaries the individual and collective behaviour of a group of people are confined..."*⁸³

When we look at the Kashmiri environment, the miracles and legends have ever since played a very important role in the lives and behaviour of people. Hamadani and some of his associates also demonstrated their spiritual powers performing certain *karamat* (extraordinary feats) which strengthened their mission.

In Alau-Dinpora, Srinagar, a mosque was feared by the people as abode of ghosts. No one dared to stay there for night. People believed that anybody who stayed there for night never came out alive. Hamadani in defiance of peoples' belief stayed there for a night. At midnight, a burqa clad woman, with terrifying noise, with light in her hands entered the mosque and sat in front of Hamadani with uncovered face. By single glance of Hamadani the woman ghost got burnt. The news of that extra-ordinary feat of Hamadani spread in the populace and they were convinced that the Saiyid possessed extra-ordinary spiritual powers.⁸⁴

Another famous anecdote common in all sources reveals that Hamadani once decided to visit Shapur, the Head of the then most famous Kali Shuri temple situated on the banks of river Jhelum in Srinagar. On Hamadani's arrival Shapur tried to overawe the Saiyid by his magical powers. He demonstrated his magical powers by flying and was soon beyond vision. Hamadani ordered one of his disciples, Saiyid Kabir Baihaqi to counter the Brahmin's feat. Baihaqi threw his shoes in the air and the shoes brought the Brahmin down on ground. This episode was highly thrilling and the Brahmin audience also got converted to Islam.⁸⁵

Both medieval⁸⁶ and modern⁸⁷ scholars have highly extolled the proselytising activities of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. Hamadani accompanied by his disciples travelled throughout the length and breadth of the valley. He left his deputies at a number of places, which were great centres of idolators of those days, like Vijabror (modern Bijbihara), Pampur and Avantipura. These disciples of Hamadani established a *network of khanqahs* which emerged as nuclei of preaching and proselytisation. Thus, Islam in Kashmir received great impetus because of Hamadani and his disciples.

During the times of Hamadani there were very few indigenous ulama in Kashmir. So, the responsibility of propagation of dogmas, beliefs and philosophy of Islam appears to have been shared entirely by Hamadani and his disciples.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani, partly because of his ill health⁸⁸ and partly on account of strain in relations with Sultan Qutbu'd-Din⁸⁹, on account of his (Qutbu'd-Din) poor response to his (Hamadani's) teachings, decided to leave Kashmir. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* supported by two other authorities⁹⁰ says, "*When Sultan Qutbu'd-Din did not glorify Islam and implement the Shari'a as Hamadani wished, he, therefore, decided not to stay any more in this country, and left via Baramulla, with the intention of performing the pilgrimage.*"⁹¹

When Hamadani reached Kunar towards the northwest of Kashmir in the

vicinity of Pakhli, he was persuaded by its chief⁹² to stay there for some period. During his stay over there, Hamadani fell ill and eventually passed away⁹³ on 6th Dhul-Hijja 786/19 January 1385, at the age of 73⁹⁴. His body was carried to Khuttalan now in Tajkistan and was buried there on 25 Jumadu'l-Auwal 787/14th July 1385⁹⁵.

Works of Hamadani

Hamadani, like many other Sufis, was a prolific writer. According to three of his biographers, he was the author of 170 works⁹⁶. Wahhab claims to have seen fifty of his works but he mentions titles of the following sixteen works only.

Zakhiratu'l-Muluk, Ma'rifatu'l-Zuhd, Halu'l-Fasus, Majmma'ul-Ahadith, Minhaju'l- 'Arifin, Mir'atu'l-Tai'bin, Mashariqu'l-Anwar, Sharh-i-Asma 'i-Husna, Risala-i-Talqiniya, Adabu'l-Muridin, Risala-i-Faqriya, Risala-i-Khaw-atirya, Risala-i-DahQa'ida, Risala-i-Manaqib, Sairu'l- Talibin and Asraru'l Nuqta.

G. M. D. Sufi has mentioned some other treatises of Hamadani, namely, *Ilm'ul Qayafa, Kitab-al-Mawidat Fil-Quran, Kitab'ul Sabin-Fi Fazeil-i Amiru'l Muminin, Rozat-ul-Firdus, Firdos'al-Akhyar, Manazil-ul-Salikin, Risala-i-Nuriya, Dar Haqayiq-i-Tuaba, Dar M'arifati-Surat-wa-Sirat-i-Insan, Sharhi Qasidai Khamriya, Farziy*⁹⁷

The writings of Hamadani are preserved in manuscript form in various libraries of India, Britain and Iran. The British Museum and India Office Library in England, Raza Library Rampur in India, Kitab-Khana Milal of Tehran in Iran and the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Kashmir have preserved the valuable documents of Hamadani.

The following twenty works of Hamadani are available in manuscript form in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Kashmir; *Risala-i-Minhajul 'Arifin, Risala'i DahQaidah, Risala'i Mairifati Zuhd, Risala'i-Makfubat, Risala'i Hal-i-Mushkil, Risala'i Auradiya, Risala'i-Musha biha' Digar;*

Risala 'i Chihl Hadith, Risala ' 'Arbatena, Risala 'i Fututia, Risala 'i Zikriya, Risala 'l Asrarun-Nuqta, Risala 'i Najsia, Risala 'i Murajat, Risal 'i Fuqriya, Risala 'i Ikhlaiya, Risala 'i Zikriya Saghiriya, Risalati Khawatiya, Risalati Ahadith-i-Sadat, Risala 'i Kushf-ul Haqaiq Nur Bakhshia, Risala 'i Istalahat i-Nur-ud-Din Ja'far. Risala 'i Qudisiya, Risala 'i Mirat 'tu-Taibin, and Risala-i I'tegadiya.

Asrar-i-Lawhi, Mashribu'l Azwaq, a collection of poems and three copies of *Dhakhirat-ul-Muluk* are available in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, India. *Kashf-ul-Haqaiq, Risalati Dah Qatida, Risala 'i Darweshiya, Risala-i-Makfubat, Risala-i-Masharibu'l Azwaq, Risala-i-Zikriya and Risala-i-Sharh-i-Mushkilat* are there in manuscript form in British Museum London⁹⁸.

A Persian translation of *Fusus-al-Hikam* in manuscript form is available in Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad.

Zakhirat ul-Muluk is written in Persian language. It consists of the following ten chapters - (a) Faith, (b) Doing the rights of God, (c) Virtues, (d) Rights and duties of parents, wives, children etc. (e) Rules of government and rights and duties of subjects, (f) Spiritual kingdom, soul and the secrets of human kingdom, (g) Execution of the lawful and abstinence from the unlawful, (h) Gratefulness, (i) Patience and (j) Pride, anger and humility.

Zakhiratu'l Muluk, Risala-i-Dah Qa'da and *Minhajul 'Aabidin* were published by Niaz Ali Khan. *Zakhiratu'l Muluk* has been translated into Urdu under the titles like, *Minhaj-us Saluk* and *Zakhirah S'adat*⁹⁹. It was translated into Latin by Ernest Friedrich Carl Rosenmueller in 1825 A.C. and into French by D. Solvent in 1829 A.C.¹⁰⁰ *Aurad-i-Fathiya* is a treatise on the unity of Allah and His attributes. It has been published a number of times. It is written in "Arabic". A copy of its manuscript is preserved in the Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, India.

Risala-i-Dah Qa'idu is a treatise on the Sufi path in which Hamadani has given ten doctrines of Sufi course. *Mirat- 't-Tatibin* is a treatise on the concept

of repentance. *Risala-i-Maktubat* is a collection of letters of Hamadani written to different saints and rulers on different occasions.

Risala-i-Zikriya Sagiriya is a treatise on the concept of repentance and recollection, *Risala-i-Najisia-Farsia* gives a description of soul. *Risala-i-Manta-miya* is a treatise on dreams. *Risala-i-Marifat-i-Zuhd* is an exposition of abstinence.

Risala-i-Istalahat is a treatise on metaphysical concepts. *Risala-i-Fuqriya* deals with the concept of poverty. *Risala-i-Mushabih-Digar* treats knowledge of Allah, purification of heart and difference between intuition and knowledge. *Risala-i-Akhlaqia* is a brief exposition of vices. *Risala-i-Hali Mushkil* gives an exposition of the concept of knowledge of Allah. *Masharib-al-Azwaq* treats the concept of love of Allah. *Risala-i-A'iti-qa diya* is an exposition of religious obligations.

'Araba 'Aaini-Amtriya consists of forty traditions regarding life after death. *Risala-i-Auradiya* is a treatise on recollection. *Fututia* gives an exposition of the sufi concept of brotherhood. *Asrar-un-Nuqta* and *Qudusia* deal with metaphysics. *Risala-i-Ahadithia* is a collection of traditions. *Chihl Asrar* is a small collection of his religious and mystic poems.¹⁰¹ Only four works of Hamadani have been published so far. These include *Zakhiratul-Muluk*, *Risala-i-Dah Qaitida*, *Minhajul 'Abidin* and *Aurad-al-Fathiya*.

Political Thought of Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani

The *Risala-i-Maktubat*¹⁰² and *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk* are the most important works of Hamadani on political issues. The former is a collection of Hamadani's letters. It comprises several letters addressed to rulers in which he gives guidance on political matters. Four of these are addressed to Sultan Tughan Shah¹⁰³, Sultan Giyasu'd Din¹⁰⁴, Qutbu'd -Din¹⁰⁵ and Sharfu'd-Din Khazar Shah¹⁰⁶.

Hamadani's approach to political questions was like that of an 'Alim concerned with the responsibilities of enforcing the lawful (*amr-i-ma'ruf*)

and prohibiting the unlawful (*nahi-munkar*). Both in *Risala-i-Maktubat* and *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk*, he raises a just ruler to the position of the deputy or Viceregent of Allah (*khalifatullah*)¹⁰⁷. Hamadani writes that Allah in the perfection of His wisdom made it imperative that there should be among the people a just and perfectly righteous ruler, who would direct the activities of the progeny of 'Adam into right channels and strive to execute the decrees of the Shari'a strictly.¹⁰⁸

Hamadani asks both rulers and people not to tolerate anything against the law of religion. He holds that rulers should prohibit all acts contrary to the shari'a and award harsh punishments, even by use of the sword for such transgression. The 'ulama, he continues, are required to stop the commitment of such acts by delivering sermons. Those who have no power to stop such acts by the sword or through discourses are asked to dissociate themselves from those who violate the Sharī'a.¹⁰⁹

Hamadani believes that the implementation of the religious law depends upon the government. The strengthening of Islam and of faith and the annihilation of those who have deviated from the right path and are responsible for revisionist accretions, he holds, depends upon the Sultans and their officers.¹¹⁰

The execution of the decrees of Shari'a and justice, Hamadani considers to be the principal duties of a ruler.

*"When a ruler follows the path of justice and equity and strives to establish the Divine law and executes the decrees of religion", Hamadani writes, "he is the chosen na'ib (deputy) of Allah, and His shadow and khalifa (viceregent) upon earth." But if he, "turns away from the path of justice and equity, does not treat the bandagan-i-haq (servants of Allah) with compassion, follows his lusts and desires and is negligent in the enforcement of the Divine law, he is, indeed the deputy of dajjal (imposter) and the enemy of Allah and His prophet and the viceregent of Satan."*¹¹¹

Saiyid Ali Hamadani recognises the institutions of *khilafat*, *badshahat* and *saltanat* if they follow the regulations of Islam in administering their state.

He does not bother about formal identity of the ruler but concerns himself with how the ruler rules.¹¹²

On the basis of knowledge Hamadani divides the rulers into four categories. In the first category he places the rulers educated by Allah', in the second category fall those rulers who function like uneducated persons. Hamadani regards them as devils of their time; whosoever attaches himself with such rulers would also put himself into disgrace forever. The third category is of those rulers who have a desire to gain knowledge but the people of that state prevent them from acquiring knowledge. Fourth is the category of such rulers who give correct advice to the people of their respective states though they themselves are ignorant. Such ruler is a tyrant. People of his state are also to be blamed for it because despite knowing the ruler's ignorance they do not pay proper attention to it and consider it a quality.¹¹³

Hamadani defines the good ruler of a state as a person who has qualities of the *anbiya'* (prophets) and *awliya* (saints). He criticises the nature of the governments and the leadership of Muslim rulers of his time and observes that they had adopted tyrannical form of government.¹¹⁴

Hamadani quotes anecdote after anecdote of the prophets and rightly guided, highly moral caliphs for emulation of Sultans and their high officers. Cruel rulers are warned that they would be subjected to incessant torture and severe punishment in the life hereafter for having betrayed the trust which Allah reposed in them¹¹⁵. He holds that on the day of judgement ordinary people would be questioned about the prayer, while the first question to the rulers would be about their justice and bounty.¹¹⁶

Hamadani holds that no ruler can discharge his duty without fulfilling the following ten rules.¹¹⁷

1. When a case is brought to the ruler, he should place himself in the position of the subject and whatever he does not like to be done to himself, he should not order for others.

2. He should consider it worthiest of all devotions to satisfy the needs of the Muslims.
3. He should follow the tradition of rightly guided caliphs in the matter of food and dress, and should desist from eating delicious foods and dressing elaborately.
4. He should not be unnecessarily harsh and should be polite. He should not be vexed if discussions are lengthy and should not feel annoyed in talking to the poor and weak.
5. He should not hesitate to implement religious law. Under every ruler half of the people remain unhappy with their rulers, because two contradictory interests cannot be reconciled. A just ruler should give only such orders as are necessary to please Allah.
6. Danger to his rule should not make him indolent towards his religious duties. He should understand firmly that only that kingship is source of good name and felicity, which establishes the Divine rule. If a ruler does not pay heed to this principle he is consigned to eternal punishment. Hamadani points out that many rulers become power drunk and begin to indulge in worldly pleasures, thereby ruining both their life and their faith. A ruler should, therefore, not make his rule a source of eternal punishment for himself and should do justice.
7. A ruler should always seek the company of 'ulama'-i-Haq and should avoid the company of imposter and ignorant 'ulama' and sufis. They praise and bless every tyrant for the sake of worldly gains and are responsible for the destruction of faith.
8. He should win the hearts of the meek and the weak through justice, benevolence and kindness. He should not strike awe in his subjects through ostentatious display of pride and arrogance.
9. He should not appoint cruel officers and should always make enquiries about the activities of his officers. If any one of them is found guilty,

he should be given exemplary punishment so that others may take warning.

10. Sagacity and discernment are qualities indispensable to rulers, enabling them to get at the reality of every case brought before them. They do not forget the basic principles that there are innumerable causes for every happening, and that what often appears superficially correct has no bearing upon reality.

Hamadani divides the subjects under a Muslim ruler into two categories - Muslims and Kuffar (heretics) - and states that their respective rights differ according to their religions.¹¹⁸ Hamadani holds that the Muslim subjects are entitled to obtain the following twenty¹¹⁹ rights from their rulers and it is imperative for the rulers to grant these:

- i. The ruler should behave properly towards the Muslims. He should not consider superior only because he is a king. He should know that Allah dislikes such people.
- ii. He should not listen to the idle gossip of unworthy people because that will make him unpopular.
- iii. If any mistake is committed by a Muslim the king should give the offender an opportunity for three days to realise his error because if he will punish the wrong doer abruptly it might make him deviate from the faith. If he realises his mistake, it is the duty of the king to pardon him.
- iv. The king should be large hearted for his people. He should love his people. He should not be selective in giving love and affection because the king and officers are the shadow of Allah, and Allah does not discriminate on the basis of religion.
- v. The king should evince a sympathetic attitude towards Muslim women. He should not enter their residence without permission.

- vi. He should not show any sort of greed, should not talk to the ignorant persons in harsh language. He should not expect *adab-i-Majalis* (etiquettes of society) from the villagers. He should assign duties to people according to their capacity.
- vii. The king should give respect to old people in his assembly.
- viii. A king should fulfil his commitment.
- ix. A king should not be harsh in conversation and should meet both high and low frankly with an open mind.
- x. A king should be just and fair in exercising his authority. As he expects his people to be fair to them, he should in turn be fair to him. He should deal with Muslims in the same manner as they deal with him.
- xi. He should **make peace between contending parties as early as possible**. No delay should be permitted in deciding disputes between Muslims, since delay may cause hatred and enmity among them.
- xii. The king should not be eager to know the mistakes of the Muslims. He should not ill-treat the poor.
- xiii. He should avoid accusing anyone merely on suspicion. He should try to direct people to virtuous action. If the people are virtuous the reward will accrue to the state. If they are corrupt and commit sin, the state would have to suffer the consequences.
- xiv. The governors of a king should not delay in recommending the needs of the Muslims to him. Many important matters in government are concluded successfully through the recommendations of the governors; the latter should seize this opportunity to obtain eternal blessings.
- xv. He should give preference to the poor against the wealthy. He should meet the pious persons because their association will make him enlightened. His association with the wealthy and greedy persons will take him to darkness.

- xvi. The king should be aware of the condition of the hungry. He should try to solve their problems. If he does not solve their problems they will demand justice on the day of judgement and on that day he will be helpless.
- xvii. The king should keep the highways safe for the Muslims. He should give exemplary punishment to robbers.
- xviii. For the convenience of people the king should construct bridges and houses, wherever needed.
- xix. The king should construct mosques in Muslim localities and appoint *imams*, *mu'azzins* and also arrange for their livelihood so that they could perform their duties properly.
- xx. The king should not avoid *amr-i-ma'ruf* (enforcement of the lawful) and *nahi-munkar* (prohibition of the unlawful). He should advise the people to follow Divine commandments and should punish those who disobey.

Hamadani also discusses the position of the *dhimmis* (non-Muslim subjects). Non-Muslim subjects are divided into two categories (i) Pagans and (ii) *ahli kitab* (the people of the scriptures). According to him it is imperative for every (Muslim) ruler and governor to make the covenant of 'Umar (Rad."A.) the basis of the treatment of their non-Muslim subjects (*dhimis*)¹²⁰. This mandate is composed of twenty rules, which are believed by Hamadani to have been imposed by the Caliph 'Umar (Rad.A). To the *ahl-i-kitab* (people of scriptures) apply the following rules:¹²¹

1. The *dhimis* (non-Muslim subjects) will not construct any new places of worship or idol temples in the territory under the control of a Muslim ruler.
2. They will not reconstruct any existing place of worship or temple that may fall into ruin.

3. They will not prevent Muslim travellers from staying in their places of worship or temples.
4. They will receive a Muslim traveller into their houses and will provide him hospitality for three days.
5. They will not harbour any spies and will not act as spies themselves.
6. If any of their relations show any inclination to embrace Islam, they shall not prevent him from doing so.
7. They will respect Muslims.
8. If they are holding a meeting and a Muslim happens to come there, he will be received respectfully.
9. They will not dress like Muslims.
10. They will not adopt Muslim names.
11. They will not ride horses with saddle and bridle (lagam).
12. They will not carry swords or bows and arrows.
13. They should not use rings with engraved stone.
14. They will not openly sell or drink intoxicating liquor.
15. They will not abandon their traditional dress, so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.
16. They will not openly practice their customs and usages among Muslims.
17. They will not build their houses in the neighbourhood of Muslims.
18. They will not cremate or bury their dead bodies near the graveyards of Muslims.
19. They will not mourn their dead loudly.
20. They will not buy Muslim slaves.

There is difference of opinion among Muslim scholars on the position, status and rights of non-Muslims. Barani holds that if a Muslim king, in spite of the power and position which Allah has given to him, is merely content with receipt of *Jizyah* (payment in lieu of exemption from rendering military service in the time of Jihad) and *kharaj* (tribute) from the Hindus and preserves both infidels and infidelity and refuses to risk his power in attempting to overcome them, what difference will there be in this respect between kings of Islam and ra'is of the infidels.¹²² Hamadani, however, concedes to them freedom to follow the fundamentals of their faith. *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* allows the entry of a *dhimmi* into a mosque. Calling a *dhimmi kafir* is also declared a sin, because it hurts the feelings of non-Muslims¹²³. R.C.Majumdar says that under the Islamic Law, twenty conditions, some of which were most humiliating, were imposed on the dhimm's. These are given in detail by Hamadani's *Dhakhirat ul-Muluk*.¹²⁴ But Majumdar did not bother to consult the other chapters of the *Dhakhirat ul-Muluk* because he has selected a matter of his own choice. In the list of twenty rights of Muslims, Hamadani says that "*the king should be large hearted for his people. He should love his people. He should not be selective in giving love and affection because king and the officers are the shadow of Allah, Allah does not make any discrimination on the basis of faith*"¹²⁵. Not only this, Hamadani also holds that it is the responsibility of the king to take care of all people of the state. Some of the rights Hamadani assigns to Muslims in a state are also different from those by other Muslim thinkers.¹²⁶ He gives the right of disagreement with the ruler, if he does not follow the Shari'at, whereas most political thinkers do not give this right to the Muslims.¹²⁷ Concerning the position of the non-Muslims also, Hamadani differs from other thinkers. For example Barani does not allow the preaching of Paganism in a Muslim State¹²⁸, while Hamadani does not outrightly reject the preaching of Paganism secretly.¹²⁹

Impact of Hamadani on Kashmir society.

Besides being an 'alim and Sufi, Hamadani was an influential political thinker and a reformer of high repute. His impact on all sections of Kashmiri society

was primarily due to the integrity of his personal life. He laid great emphasis upon earning one's own livelihood and rejected the traditional means of patronage and support open to religious men such as *Futuh* (unasked for charity), *ihya* (the cultivation of wasteland) or *madad-i-m 'aash* (grants from the state)¹³⁰. Hamadani rejected the entire idea of charity for religious men or orders because he feared that it would make them parasitical. He himself made his living by cap making and encouraged his *murids* (followers) to do the same¹³¹. Hamadani shunned the conventionally idle *khanqah* life because he thought it would isolate him from the common man and from society. He was himself also an expert *sozan kari*, (needle worker)¹³². His commitment to individual craft is credited with the establishment of handicraft industry in Kashmir. When he came to Kashmir he brought along with him hundreds of disciples who were painters, calligraphers, shawl makers etc.¹³³ There is no mention for example, of the shawl industry before the time of Hamadani.¹³⁴

Hamadani's emphasis on sufis being accessible to common people, put him into contact with people of all sorts. He is said to have influenced that famous Kashmiri poetess and mystic Lalla Ded (born in the middle of 14th century A.D.)¹³⁵. Under Hamadani's influence she rejected the caste system and criticized idolatory.¹³⁶ Hamadani's influence is evident in her assertion that asceticism was not necessary for intimacy with Allah; householder could achieve this as well as a hermit, provided he performed his duties selflessly.¹³⁷

Hamadani's influence is a major factor behind changing the demographic character of Kashmir. Under his impact, Brahminical influence declined and most castes embraced Islam.¹³⁸ It is said that Hamadani made 37000 converts to Islam¹³⁹. Hamadani's great influence on Kashmiri society was the result of his accessibility.¹⁴⁰ His *khanqah* was open to all from Sultan to a poor Hindu. He had no reservation in counselling monarchs because he saw that their policies were the key to the welfare of people. Hamadani's introduction of the tradition of *dhikr* was motivated by his desire to bring different sections of Kashmiri society together. The *dhikr* of *Aurad-i-Fathiya*, ceremonies after the Fajr (morning) prayers and 'Isha (night) prayers' served the social purpose

of gathering different people together twice a day, without reference to their wealth or poverty.¹⁴¹ Under the influence of Hamadani's son, Mir Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani (born in 1372 A.D.) Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413 A.D.) banned all intoxicants, the custom of 'Sutee' and other evil social practices in Kashmir.¹⁴²

Hamadani considers the office of the ruler absolutely essential in the interests of law and human society. Besides the time-honoured institution of caliphate, he also recognizes *Badshahat* and *Sultanat* as forms of state, so long as they modelled themselves on Islamic norms.¹⁴³ He was not so much concerned with classifying the nature of the state as in how the ruler ruled. Infact it is clear that *Zakhiratul Muluk* is specifically written for the guidance of Muslim rulers and their subordinates. Hamadani says in its preface that he has written it so that *muluk* (monarchs), *hukkam* (administrators), *amajid* (honourable persons) and *ashraf* (noblemen) could seek guidance from it while dealing with matters of state and thus do justice to their subjects.¹⁴⁴

Apart from writing on affairs of state, Hamadani made personal contact with the rulers of Kashmir. He corresponded with Qutubuddin¹⁴⁵ (1373-1389) who became his disciple and wrote several verses in his honour.¹⁴⁶ The Sultan, who had married two sisters in contravention of the shariat, went to the extent of divorcing one of them at the urging of Hamadani.¹⁴⁷ Further, at the instance of Shah Hamadan, Sultan Shihabuddin established the first Madrasatul Qur'an. Schools were also established to teach the basics of Islam in important villages of Kashmir.¹⁴⁸ According to Sufi, "under the influence of the great Syed, the Sultan (Qutubuddin) devoted time to meditation and prayer and became a great Sufi poet. Farishta says that Sultan Qutubuddin was remarkable for his keen interest in public business, which he personally transacted in person and generally with justice and moderation."¹⁴⁹

We also know that Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413), who succeeded Qutubuddin was, as a result of Hamadani's writings, more inclined towards religion than many of his predecessors. He attempted to introduce shariat law in his Sultanate¹⁵⁰. Hamadani was, at the same time, careful about keeping a personal

distance from State to preserve his independence. When Sultan Qutubuddin invited him to stay with him in 1378, he declined and stayed in a *sarai* (resting place) till such time as his *murids* (followers) built him a *suffa* (plinth) after which he began living there¹⁵¹. Hamadani's *Zakhiratu 'l Muluk* was a favourite book with the scholars during the pre-Mughal period in India¹⁵². This is borne out by the fact that most of the orientalist libraries contain manuscript copies of *Zakhiratu 'l Muluk* while this is not the case as far as *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, or the *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* is concerned. The copy available in the National Museum, New Delhi, bears the seal of Aurangzeb's, Qadiu'l Qadat, which shows that Qadi had the book in his personal collection. Its importance is illustrated by the number of languages that it was translated into.

One of the Hamadani's impact of great significance was the emergence of a network of *Khanqahs* which served as great centres of proselytisation especially at Hindu rich centres like Pampore, Awantipora, Bijbihara, Shahabad and Tral and which still exist at these places.

The local response to Hamadani's teachings came in the form of emergence of an indigenous religious order the rishism. The following verses of Shaikh Nur-ud-din (Nund Rishi) the founder of this order, bear testimony to the influence of Hamadani and his son Mir Mohammad Hamadani.

(53)

The first Rishi was prophet Muhammad (SAW)

The second in order was Hadrat Ovais

The third Rishi was Zulka Rishi

The fourth in order was Hadrat Pilas

The fifth was Rum Rishi

The sixth in order was Hadrat Miran

The seventh (me) is miscalled a Rishi

Do I deserve to be called a Rishi?

What is my name?

Dr. Enayatullah Indrabi visualises the impact of Hamadani on Shaikh Nur-

ud-din in these word;

"... The arrival of Amir-e-Kabir is by all standards a turning point in the history of Kashmir. It heralded the dawn of a new era in the sense that the history of Kashmir took a decisively new turn and a vigorous process of socio-cultural change got initiated, when Hadrat Shaykh started his movement and made a frontal attack on the prevalent social ills, hypocritical practices and the 'ulema who did not practice what they preached, the new society was yet in a nascent stage. The social reality that came under attack from Hadrat Shuikh could neither be defined nor described without a broader reference to the new historical phase that had set in with the arrival of Hadrat-e-Amir Kabir." ¹⁵⁴

Allama Iqbal beautifully pays tributes to Hamadani and declares him chief of Sadat and maker of the destiny of the Muslim ummah.¹⁵⁵

In fact the increased cultural contacts between Central Asia and Kashmir during the medieval period were largely result of the missionary activities of Sufi saints from Persia and Central Asia like Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Bulbul Shah, Mir Shamsuddin and many others.¹⁵⁶ Hamadani's singular achievement was to rescue sufism in the valley from other worldliness and quietism. His influence continues to be felt more than six hundred years after his death.

References

1. The difference in opinion about Hamdani's date of birth has arisen on account of the fact that neither Nur-ud-Din Jaffar Badakhshi, one of the earliest and famous disciples of Hamdani, has mentioned the date of birth of Saiyid Ali Hamdani in his *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib* nor has any such mention been made in *Risala-i-Masturat* (a rare source manuscript). Some eminent scholars like A.Q. Rafiqi, Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, Hayat Aamir in their respective works; *Sufism in Kashmir* (p. 31), *Shah-e-Hamdan, Hayat aur Karnamae* (p.18) and *Religious Thought of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamdani* (p.14) subscribe to the above mentioned date. However, Syeda Ashraf Zaffar in her book, *Syed Mir 'Ali Hamdani* (p.15), regards 12th Rajab 713 A.H./1313 A.D. as Hamadani's date of birth..

Ja'far Badakhshi, however, has not failed to mention Hamadani's date of death as 786/1384 at the age of 73. In my opinion most of the scholars have included 73rd year of Hamadani's age while S. Ashraf Zaffar has excluded it.

See also G. M.D. Sufi; *Kashir*, Vol. 1, p.85, S.A.A. Rizvi; *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, p.291.

2. Nur-ud-Din, Ja'ffar Badakhshi; *Khulasat-ul-Manaqib*, p. 441, Oriental Research Deptt.
3. Syeda Ashraf Zaffar; *Syed Mir Ali Hamdani*; p. 17; Mahal Publications, Delhi, 1987.

Also cf., Abul Qasim Abdullah Kashani, *Tarikh-i-Jateyu* (M.S.) No. 242, Central Library Tehran University. In this manuscript the name of Saiyid Shihab-ud-Din does not figure among the rulers of Hamadan (from 716-754/1316-1354).

also. cf., Shams-ud-Din Ahmad; *Shah-e-Hamadan, Hyat aur Karnamae*, p. 18, Haji Shaikh Gh. Muhammad and Sons, Srinagar.

4. Ja'ffar Badakhshi; *op.cit*; p.3
5. Jaffar Badakhshi; *op.cit*, p.3.
6. *Ibid*; p. 441. Some modern scholars have however, wrongly identified "Alau-ud-din with celebrated "Ala-ud-daula Samnani, whereas they are are not only two different persons but also two different names as well. cf., Sufi; *Kashir*; Vol. I., p.85
7. J. Badakhshi; *op.cit.*, p. 411, Abdul Wahab; *Futuh-at-i-Kubraviya* (M.S.) p. 54b, Pir Hassan., *Tarikh-i-Hassan*; Vol. III; p. 11 Muhi u'd Din Miskin, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*; Pp.10-11.

8. J. Badakhshi; *op.cit*, p. 451, Haidar Badakhshi; *Masturat*; p. 350 b; Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p. 54b; Pir Hassan; *op.cit*; p. 54b;
9. J. Baqakhshi; *op.cit.*, p. 457; Abdul Rehman Jami, *Nathat-ul-Uns*; p.290.
10. J. Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p.13.
11. *Ibid*, p. 12.
12. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p. 55a. J. Badakhshi also supports this and says that Hamadani had collected 400 *Ahadith* (traditions) from various prominent saints of his times, including Alau'd Daula Simnani, J. Badakhshi, *op.cit*; Pp. 453-54.
13. Haidar Badakhshi; *Manqabatul Jawahir*; (M.S.); p.5a. Research Lib. Srinagar.
14. J. Badakhshi; *op cit*; p.24.
15. *Ibid*; p. 85; cf, S. A. Zafar; *op.cit*; p. 28; Rafiqi, *op.cit*, p.34.
16. Pir Hasan; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*; Vol.III, p.12; cf., Abdul Wahab; *Futuh-i-Kubraviya*, p. 54b.
17. Abdul Wahab; *Ibid*; p. 55a.
18. Jaffar Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 36.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
20. *Ibid*; p.4a
21. *Ibid*; p.63a
22. *Ibid*; p. 67b.
23. *Idem*.
24. *Ibid*; p.93b
25. *Ibid.*, p.94a
26. *Ibid.*, p.95
27. *Ibid.*, p.75b
28. *Ibid.*, p.72a
29. *Ibid.*, p. 76a
30. *Ibid.*, p.92a
31. *Ibid.*, p.12. cf. Qasim Shah Bukhari; *at -Tanveer Bi Dhikri Ameru'l Kabir.*, New Kashmir Press, Srinagar; p.38.
32. Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*, Pp. 14,15; cf., Muhiu'd-Din Miskin; *Tarikh-i-Kabir*; Pp.12-14.
33. Amin Ahmad Razi; *Haft Iqlim.*, Vol. II; p. 539.

34. G.M.D. Sufi; *Kashir*; vol.I., Pp. 86, 87.
35. Muhibu'l Hasan; *Kashmir under Sultans*; Pp. 55, 56.
36. Miskin's statements are worth arguing. He comments that Hamadani's first visit to Kashmir took place in 1372 A.D. during the reign of Qutbu'd Din (*Tarikh-i-Kabir*., p. 12) but Qutbu'd Din ascended the throne in 1373 A.D., (Jonaraja; *Rajatarangani*; p. 47) and not in 1372. Miskin also maintains that Hamadani came to Kashmir for the third time in 785/1383-84 and he remarks that Nuru'd-Din Rishi was four years of age at that time (*Tarikh-i-Kabir*; p.14). Elsewhere he gives the Rishi's date of birth as 779/1377-78. (*Tarikh-i-Kabir*; p.92).
37. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*; pp. 432-33.
38. Amin Ahmad Razi; *op.cit.*, p. 185.
39. *Ibid.* p. 23a.
40. *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*; p. 35a.
41. *Turikh-i-Kashmiri* p.91a.
42. Haider Badakhshi; *Risala-i-Masturat*; M.S. Research Library Srinagar; p. 62.
43. Ja'far Badakhshi; *op.cit.*, p. 17.
44. Abdul Hai., *Nuzhatu'l Khawatir*, vol.2., p. 87, Hyderabad Daccan.
45. M.J.Akbar., *Kashmir Behind the Veil*, p. 23., Viking; 1990.
46. Shams-ud-Din Ahmad; *Danish*; vol.6; Deptt. of Persian, University of Kashmir; p. 4.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
48. *Idem.*
49. S.M.Farooq Bukhari; *Kashmir-mein-Islam Ki Isha'at*, pp. 108-109, Centre for Kashmir Studies; Srinagar, 1984.
50. Haidar Badakhshi; *op.cit*; p. 25; cf, Saiyid M. FarooqBukhari., *op.cit.*, p. 112.
51. P.N.K. Bamzai, *History of Kashmir*; p. 309.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
54. *Idem.*
55. G.M.Dar, *Social and Religious Conditions on the Eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*, p. 45.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
57. S.C.Ray., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*; p. 166.

58. R.K.Parmu., *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*; p. 438.
59. G.M.Dar; *Ibid*; pp. 66, 82.
60. *Ibid*; p. 83.
61. Bamzai; *Ibid*; p. 319.
62. Abdul Hai; *Nuzhatu'l Khawatir*; vol. 2., p. 88.
63. Mohi-ud-Din Miskin; *op.cit.*, p. 82.
64. Saiyid Ali; *Tarikh-i-Kashmir.*, p.1a.
65. Muhammad Aslam; *Gauhar-i-Alam.*, p. 116a.
66. P.N.K. Bamzai., *op.cit.*, p. 315.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 318.
68. Muhadith is a person having sufficient knowledge about the traditions of the Prophet (SAW).
69. Ja'afar Badakhshi; *op.cit.*, p. 17
70. G.M.Dar., *Social And Religious Conditions on the Eve of Spread of Islam in Kashmir*; p. 43; Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar; 1992.
71. Saadat., *Bulbul Shah.*, Pp. 7,23; cf. P.N.K. Bamzai; *op.cit.*, p. 525.
72. Muhibu'l Hasan; *Kashmir under Sultans.*, p. 235; cf. Syeda Ashraf Zaffar.,*op.cit.*,p. 127.
73. Syeda Ashraf Zaffar; *op. cit.*, Pp. 126-27.
74. P.N.K. Bamzai., *History of Kashmir.*, p. 484.
75. Muhammad Azami., *op.cit*;MS., O.R.,D, Sgr, Kashmir; p. 39b; cf., Syeda Ashraf Zafar; *op.cit*; p. 114.
76. P.N. Bazaz., *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir.*, Kashmir Publishing Company, New Delhi., 1954, p. 82.
77. A.Q.Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*; p. 73.
78. Hamadani., *Zakhirat-ul-Muluk.* (tr. Rayaz Qadri); p.4, Islamic Book Foundation, Delhi; 2nd ed. 1991.
79. G.M.D. Sufi., *Kashir*; Vol. I, p. 82.
80. A.Q.Rafiqi; *Sufism in Kashmir.*, Pp. 29-31.
81. Saiyid Ashraf Zafar; *Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani.*, Pp. 158-68.
82. Saiyid Ali Hamadani., *Awrad-e-Fathiya.*
83. M. Ishaq Khan; *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, P. 205.
84. Ab.Wahhab Nuri., *Futuh-i-Kubraviya.*, (M.S.) p. 85; cf; Nurud-din Ja'far Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 86b.

85. Hyder Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 421a.
86. Saiyid 'Ali., *op. cit.*, Pp.2b-3a.; Haidar Malik., *op.cit.*, p. 421a; Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, p.16.
87. Muhibbu'l-Hassan., *op.cit.*, Pp. 56, 235; R.C.Temple., *The Word of Lalla.*, p. 2,
88. G.M.D. Sufi., *Kashir*, Vol. I., Pp. 86-7.
89. Haidar Malik., *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 93a. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*; p. 25a.

Infact Sultan Qutbu'd-Din visited Hindu shrines, celebrated their festivals and dressed himself in Hindu fashion. At one of the occasions he is reported to have performed a Yajna in order to avert famines (Jonaraja., *Rajtarangini*, p. 53).

However, some scholars like A.Q.Rafiqi hold the view that Qutbu'd Din did so for political reasons in order to maintain good relations with his subjects, the majority of whom were idolators i.e. Hindus. (cf. A.Q.Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 38).
90. Haidar Malik., *op.cit.*, p. 93a.
91. P. 25a.
92. The name of the chief was Sultan Khizr (Ja'far Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 580). But Muhiud-Din Miskin and A'zami give his name as Sultan Muhammad (*Tarikh-i-Kabir*. pp. 14-5) and (*Tarikh-i-A'zami*; p.37).
93. Amin Ahmad Razi, however, mentions Kabul as the place of Hamadani's death (*Haft Iqlim.*, II, p. 539) but this information is not supported by any other source, therefore, appears contrary to factual position.
94. Ja'far Badakhshi., *op. cit.*, p. 580. *Baharistan-i-Shahi.*, p. 25a
95. Ja'far Badakhshi; *Ibid.*

'A'zami says that Hamadani was burried on 5 Jumadu'l Auwal, 787/ 16 June, 1385 (*Tarikh-i-A'zami*; p. 37). But Badakhshi, who had attended funeral prayer of Hamadani, and being contemporary of Hamadani is naturally more reliable.
96. Haidar Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 373a; Abdul Wahhab., *op.cit.*, p. 57b; *Tarikh-i-Hassan.*, *op.cit.*, III., p. 12.
97. G.M.D. Sufi., *op.cit.*, p. 90-1.
98. G.M.D. Sufi; *op.cit.*, p. 89; cf. *Hyat-i-Aamir.*, *op.cit.*, p.
99. This translation has recently been done by Prof. Shams-ud-din Ahmad in two volumes.
100. G.M.D. Sufi., *op.cit.*, p. 90.
101. G.M.D. Sufi., *op.cit.*, P.91.

102. cf. *Risala-i-Maktubat.*, p. 167a.
103. Tughan Shah was the ruler of Kunar lying in the vicinity of Pakistan & Afghanistan.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 167b.

Giyasu'd-Din was the ruler of Pakhli. He had earlier invited Hamadani but later plotted against him which becomes clear from this letter.
105. He was the ruler of Kashmir.
106. He was the successor of Giyas-ud-Din of Pakhli.
107. Al-Mawardi, however, considered the caliph as the viceregent of the Prophet and not of Allah. According to him a deputy by definition represents one who is absent; because Allah is present always, therefore the caliph cannot be the deputy of Allah. He quotes an anecdote of Abu Bakr (Rad.Λ), the first caliph, who was once called 'Khalifu'l lah' (Deputy of Allah) and he objected to it saying, "I am the khalifa-Rasula'l-Lah (deputy of the Prophet). (*Ahkamu's Sultaniya.*, Pp. 31-2).
108. Hamadani., *Risala-i-Maktubat.*, p. 167a; *Zakhiratu'l Muluk.*, p. 94.
109. Hamadani, *Zhakhiratu'l Muluk*; p. 117.
110. Hamadani., *Risala-i-Darwishiya*; p. 251a.
111. Hamadani, *Dhakhiratu'l Muluk.*, p. 104
112. *Ibid.*, (M.S.) p. 2b.
113. Hamadani., *op.cit.*; p. 137a.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 106a.
115. Hamadani., *Dhakkiratu'l Muluk.*, p. 94
116. Haider Badakhshi., *Risala-i-Masturat.* Pp. 164a-b
117. Hamadani., *op.cit.*, Pp. 105-110.
118. Hamadani., *op.cit.*, p. 110
119. *Ibid.*, p. 110
120. Hamadani., *op.cit.*, p. 117.
121. *Ibid.*, Pp. 117-8.
122. Afsar Begum., *The Fatawa-i-Jahandari of Zia'u'ddin Barni*, Medieval India, quarterly, Pp. 68-86; cf. S.M.Azizu'ddin Hussain, Political Ideas of Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani, p.38 *Hamdard Islamics*. Vol. XIII/No.4, Winter 1990.
123. *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, as quoted by A.J.Syed; p. 13; cf., S.S. Azizu'ddin; *op.cit.*, p. 38.
124. R.C.Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanat*, (Bombay, 1967), p. 618; cf., S. H.

- Azizuddin, *op.cit.* p. 38.
125. Hamadani., *Zhakhirat ul-Muluk.*, p. 125a.
 126. *Ibid.*, p.128a.
 127. Hamadani, *op.cit.*,p.139b.
 128. Afsar Begum, *op.cit.* Pp. 65,73.
 129. Hamadani, *op.cit.*, p. 128a.
 130. Hakim S.M. Kamaluddin Hussain, *Sahib-i-Muwaddatul Quraba*, Nasik (1984), p. 12. K.A.Nizami points out that medieval mystics, "preferred Futuh to cultivation because it ensured great freedom of action and minimized the chances of coming into contact with diwan." (*Some Aspects of Religion and Politics during the first half of thirteenth century*, Delhi, p. 240).
 131. S.M. Kamalu'ddin Hussain Hakim., *op.cit.*, p.18.
 132. S.M.K. Hussain Hakim; *op.cit.*, p. 18.
 133. Rashid Nazki, *Tamadduni Zindagi main Sadat ka Hissa*, Hamara Adab - J&K Academy of Arts, Srinagar) Pp. 194-95.
 134. Mohibbul Hassan; *Kashmir under Sultans*, p. 262.
 135. P.N.K. Bamzai; *op.cit.*, p. 539.
 136. Mohibbul Hasan; *Ibid*; p. 237-39.
 137. Mohibbul Hasan., *op.cit*; p. 239.
 138. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
 139. Saadat., *Bulbul Shah.*, pp. 7,23 also. cf. P.N.K.Bamzai; *op.cit.*, p. 525.
 140. *Ibid.*, p. 235
 141. *Dhikr of Aurad-i-Fathiya*, is still followed by the Kashmiri Muslims. It is also popular in Tajkistan. See for details Sultanat Mahir khwaja, Shakhshiyat wa Taasir, Mir Saiyid Ali Hamadani Dar Tajkistan, *Danish*. 1993, no. 32.
 142. Mohibul Hasan, *op.cit.*, Pp. 64, 65.143 Hamadani, *Dhakhiratu'l Muluk* (National Museum, MS) p.2b.
 143. Hamadani, *Dhakhiratu'l Muluk* (National Museum, MS) p.2b.
 144. Hamadani., *Zakhiratu'l Muluk*; (National Museum) M.S.; p.2b.
 145. Shamsuddin Ahmad, Hazrat Shah Hamadan ke char Khutut - Chand Badshahon ke Nam, *Danish*. Pp. 6, 9.
 146. Verses of the Qutubuddin;
 147. G.M.D. Sufi; *Kashir*, vol.II, p. 90, Lucknow, 1974.

148. Mohibbul Hasan; *Kashmir under the Sultans*; p.260, Delhi, 1974.
149. G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Pp. 65-66, Delhi, 1979.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
151. Mohibbul Hasan; *op.cit.*, p. 56.
152. G.M.D. Sufi., *op.cit.* I, p. 90.
153. Moti Lal Saqi., *Kulliyat-e-Shaykh-ul-Alam*, p. 65
154. Dr. Enayatullah Andrabi, "In Fond Rememberance of Amir-e-kabir (RA) and his inspired Mission". *Daily Greater Kashmir*, Srinagar, dated July 15-16-17, 1994.
155. 'Allama Iqbal., *Javeed Nama*, p. 272, (I'teqad Publishing House, Delhi).
156. Mohibbul Hasan; *op.cit.*, Pp. 222-25.

Chapter - III

Development and salient features of Kubraviya Sufi order

a) Development of Kubraviya order

Kubraviya order was originally founded by Ahmad Bin Umarul-Khayuqi, popularly called Najmud-Din Kubra¹ (d. 540/1145-618/1221). He had spent most of his youth in travelling to various Islamic countries² of the world. During one of his sojourns at Khurasan, he came in contact with Shaikh Ismail, Qasti³, (d. 589/1193) a disciple of Shaikh Abul Najib Suhrawardi. After some time Shaikh Ismail advised him to go to Shaikh Ammar Ibn-Yasir⁴ al Baldisi.

Shaikh Ammar, one of the followers of Shaikh Abu Najib, initiated him into Sufism and in his turn sent Najmud-din to Shaikh Ruzbihan al- Wazzan al Misri (d. 584/1188) for further education. Shaikh Ruzbihan, impressed with the spiritual progress of Najmud-Din, sent him back to Shaikh Ammar Yasir, who ultimately asked Najmud-Din to settle in his native place Khwarizm. In accordance with the direction of his preceptor Najmud-Din made Khwarizm the centre of his activities⁵.

Najmud-Din soon became an outstanding personality of his time. He was a prolific writer and his works like *Fawatih-al-djamal wa fawatih-al-djalal*, *al-usul al-ashara*, and *Rislat al-Khaif al-Haim min lawmat al-laim*⁶, came to be recognised as standard text-books of advanced sufi theories. Berthels thinks the sufi writings of Najmud-Din form a transition from the older Sufism of the first theorists (the Nishapur school of the Xth-XIth centuries) and the

later Sufism of Ibn al-Arabi and his successors⁷. Although most of his works are in Arabic he wrote in Persian, a *Sifat al-Adab* (rules of conduct for the guidance of neophytes) which forms an important landmark in the trend towards the Iranization of Sufism.

Central Asia and Persia were in turmoil during the times of Najmud Din. Chengiz Khan (1206-27) had started his career of rapacious conquests. Khwarizm was also sacked by the Mongol army. Chengiz Khan, however, offered protection to Najmud Din but he declined the offer⁸. He eventually perished alongwith thousands of others in 1221 A.D.⁹ during a battle with the Mongols.¹⁰

The teachings of Kubraviya order however continued to flourish under various disciples of Najmud-din¹¹ in different parts of the world, especially in Persia and central Asia. Majd-ad din al-Baghdadi (d. 616/1219), Radi ad-din Ali-i-Lala (d. 642/1244), Sad ad din al-Hamuya (d.650/1252) and Najm-ad-din ad-Daya (d. 1256) were some of the eminent disciples of Najmud-din. Najmud-Din had trained a number of remarkable men in his *khanqah* in khawarizm including Majd-ad-din al-Baghdadi¹², who was the Shaikh of the great Persian poet Farid ad-din Attar (d.c. A.D. 1225), author of *Mantiq at Tair* (speech of the Birds), an allegorical *mathnawi*, which traces the spiritual pilgrimage through seven valleys (stages) with deep in-sight.

From many of Najmud-din's khalifas no defined branch orders stemmed but rather a kubravi *taifa* localized around the khalifa's tomb, to which were attached a convent and ancillary buildings. Many establishments of this kind were visited by Ibn Batuta in 1333 A.D.¹³. These included that of Najmud-din himself outside Khwarizm¹⁴ and that of Saif-ad-din al-Baharzi (d.658/1260), who received the adherence of Berke Khan of the Golden Horde, to Islam¹⁵, and built under Timur's patronage¹⁶. Another khalifa was the shi, Sad-ad-din M. al-Hamuya (d.c. 650/1252), whose descendants maintained a localized *taifa* around his tomb at Bahrabad in Khurasan.

The main orders deriving from Najmud-din were¹⁷.

- (i) **Firdawsiyya**, an Indian branch of the line from the Bakharzi of Bukhara. It derives its name from a khalifa of his called Ber-ad-din Firdawsi whose khalifa Najib-ud-din Muhammad (d. Delhi c. 1300 A.D), introduced the order into India¹⁸.
- (ii) **Nuriyya**, a Baghdadi branch founded by Nurud-din, Abd-ar-Rahman al-Isfaraini (d. 717/1317), master of As-simnani.
- (iii) **Rukniyya**, a Khurasani branch deriving from Rukn-ad-din Abu Makarim Ahmad ibn Sharaf ad-din generally known as Ala" ad-Dawla as Simnani, d. 736/1336.
- (iv) **Hamadaniyya**, a Kashmiri branch of Rukniyya, founded by Saiyid Ali¹⁹ ibn Shihab-ad-din b. M. al-Hamadani (b. Hamadan 714/1314, d. in Pakhli. 786/1385, and buried at Khatlan in Tajkistan).
- (v) **Ightishashiyya**, a Khurasani branch founded by Ishaq-al-Khuttalani (assassinated by emissaries of Shah Rukh in 826/1423), a pupil of Ali al-Hamadani. From him through his pupil Abdallah Barzishabadi Mashhadi, came the Shii order of **Dhahabiyya** (centred today in Shiraz), the term by which Najmud-din's line is frequently and confusingly denominated.
- (vi) **Nurbakhshiya**, a Khurasani branch deriving from Muhammad ibn Abdullah called Nurbakhsh, (d. 869/1465) a pupil of Ishaq al-khuttalani who developed his own distinctive Shii belief. From him again stemmed two lines, one that through Bakshh carried on the Nurbakhshi, and the other through Shams-ad-din M. al-Layiji (or Lahjani, d. 912/1506-7), who had a *khanqah* in Shiraz, branched out independently.

As-simnani's was the most important influence in the intellectual development of central Asian and Indian orders, even though his own order was of no great importance. Born in 659/1261 in the Khurasanian village of Simnan into a family with a civil service tradition he entered the service of I khan Arghun (reg. A.D. 1284-91), then as a result of experiencing an involuntary

hal, he adopted the mystical life. After surmounting initial difficulties with Arghun he was allowed to pursue his new course, and was initiated into the Kubravi Silsila by al-Kasiirqi al-Isfara'ni. After accomplishing the pilgrimage and spending some training spells in his master's *khanqah* in Baghdad, he settled in his native place of Simnan, founded his own *khanqah*, Sufiyabad-i-khudabad, and lived there tranquilly until his death in 736/1336. He was the author of numerous works²⁰ and followed an orthodox line, advocating a literal interpretation of the Quran and strict adherence to the Sharia as the essential foundation for progress along the path. He deprecated current corruptions (*bida*) in sufi thought then in practice. He condemned ideas about *wilaya* and saint's miracles. He disputed the theosophical theories of Ibn-al-Arabi, according to which the world is a reflection, not an emanation, of Reality. Later his approach, taken up by the Indian, Naqshbandi Ahmad as-Sirhindi, came to be known as *wahdat ash-shuhud* (unity of the witness or phenomena) in contradistinction to the *wahdat al-wujud* (Unity of the being) of Ibn al-Arabi. He made a unique contribution to Najmud-din's vision pattern and colour-scheme associated with the sufi stages of progressive enlightenment²¹.

b) Salient Features

As the subject is being treated in the context of Hamadani it is but proper to view the salient features of Kubraviyya order and their interpretation in the light of Hamadani's sufi thought. Besides, our sources are unanimous that none but Hamadani is the founder of Kubraviya order in Kashmir.

As a sufi, Hamadani, gives a subjective and esoteric interpretation of the teachings of Islam which have relevance only for the seekers of truth, the *arbab-i-qulub* (literally men of heart), and *sidiqan* (truthful ones).

As a sufi he maintains that the *wisal* or mystical union between the creator and the created is possible through the highest degree of *marifa* (gnosis), the *marifa-i-mushahada*²² (gnosis based on contemplation).

The Ulama (scholastic thinkers) too speak of *marifa*, but to them it means

the right cognition (*'ilm*) of Allah²³.

As an *'alim* Hamadani also subscribes to this view, but he maintains that this type of *mar'ifa* (gnosis) is of the lowest degree possessed by common people, who acknowledge that Allah is unique and everything in the world is His handiwork²⁴.

Next to them, Hamadani continues, are *Ulama-i rusum* (the traditional *'alim*) who prove the existence of Allah on the basis of their worldly knowledge and wisdom²⁵. They possess *marifa-i-istidlali* (gnosis based on reason).

In *marifa-mushahada*, the highest degree of gnosis, the aspirant is completely absorbed in the contemplation of the nature, attributes and works of Allah. This, according to Hamadani is achieved when the heart is purged of evil and those who possess it have plunged in the mysteries of Allah in the hope of *wisaf*²⁶.

Hamadani holds that *marifa mushahada* is obtained through *wahy* (Divine revelation) and *ilham*²⁷ (Divine inspiration). The Divine revelation obviously is granted to the prophets and divine inspiration to the saints²⁸.

Hamadani divides the recipients of Divine inspiration into three categories. To the first category belong those whose gnosis is based on mystical ecstasy (*Sathi*), to the second category belong *majzub*²⁹ who are perplexed in the *hadiya-i-haiman* (desert of thirst). The third category comprises those who are in the stage of *hairat* (wonder, amazement)³⁰.

Hamadani asserts that *marifa* leads to the love of Allah and greater the *marifa* the more perfect is the love of Allah³¹. He ascribes the inclination for love to five reasons³², *mahabbat-i-nafs* (love of the self), *mahabbat-i-sahib-i-kamal* (love of the perfect man), *mahabbati jamil* (love for the beautiful) and *mahabbat-i-taaruf-i-ruhani* (love based on spiritual relationship).

Hamadani holds that the causes which infuse love into man are combined in their highest perfection in Allah, so He alone is worthy of love. Since man's love for Allah is the result of *marifa*, all lovers cannot be endowed with the

same degree of love. They differ in the intensity of their love, in proportion to their *marifa*. Thus, Hamadani divides the lovers of Allah into four categories; *a'am* (most common) *am* (common) *Khas* (select ones) and *akhas* (highest among the select)³³.

According to Hamadani's scheme these four classes of people belong to four different (spiritual) worlds, in proportion to their spiritual attainments. The most common are the *taliban*, the beginners, whose experience belongs to the world of the senses which Hamadani calls '*alam-i-shahadat* (the visible world). In ordinary sufi parlance it is known as *alam-i-nasut* or the human world. But as the seeker after truth rises higher in the realm of the sufi experience and overpowers his carnal self, he becomes a *salik* (devotee) and enters the world of *ghaib wa misal* (invisible of similitude) where he experiences some aspects of Divine beauty and action³⁴.

The select are *muqarraba*, those near to Allah, who belong to the world of *malakut* (psychic substance). Here the heart of the traveller on spiritual path, according to Hamadani, begins to experience the reflection of the divine beauty and obtains some awareness of its truth.

The *sidiqan*, the highest among the select, belong to the world of *jaharut* (spiritual existence). Here the sufi begins to view the divine beauty in its entirety. Hamadani holds that at this stage one's love does not undergo any change because the lover at this point is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves *fana* (annihilation of Allah).³⁵

Hamadani devotes an entire treatise, entitled *Risala-i Duhqaida*, to life of contemplation. The ways to Allah, he writes, are as numerous as men themselves but they can be categorised into three different paths³⁶. The first is *rah-i arbab-i-muamlat* (the path of the those who observe only external rules of religion). This road is traversed by common Muslims, who perform only the obligatory duties prescribed by religion and is a means for their salvation. But *wisal-i-haqiqi* (real union), according to Hamadani, is not possible by performing such external devotion³⁷.

The second road is that of *arbab-i-mujahada* (those who undergo self-mortification) and is traversed by the *abrar*, the righteous ones of the community, also called *muqtasidan* (those who follow the middle path), The basic principle of this path is to clear the *nafs* (self) from evil³⁸.

The most perfect and noblest of all paths is based on killing one's own will. It is followed by the *sairan-i-hazrat-i samdiat* (travellers to the court of the Most High). Those who traverse this path attach themselves to the eternal and soar high in the space of *lahu*³⁹ (divinity), the last stage of the mystic journey.

To attain this highest path Hamadani, in common with other sufi authors, prescribes the following ten rules⁴⁰.

1. ***Tauba (repentance)***:- Hamadani believes that *tauba* is an act by which man can return to Allah, and prescribes two ways to do so: one when one dies but it is involuntary as one has no control over death; the other, through conscious effort by giving up voluntarily all those things which separate one from Allah. Thus, for the seeker after truth all thoughts of the visible and invisible world are sin.⁴¹
2. ***Zuhd (renunciation)***:- Hamadani holds that one should not only give up the world and worldly objects and honours, but even the desire for these should be renounced .

Hamadani urges that the sufi who wishes to tread on the highest path must renounce even the desire for objects relating to the next world.⁴²

3. ***Tawakkul (trust in Allah)***:- It, according to Saiyid Ali, demands that the traveller on the spiritual path should entrust himself and all his ways and works to Allah in a spirit of complete and unqualified trust.⁴³
4. ***Qana'at (resignation)***:- According to Hamadani it is an act of stripping one's self of the garments of worldly and beastly desires. The seeker after truth must accept only what is necessary to maintain his existence.⁴⁴

5. ***Uzlat* (retirement or seclusion):-** Hamadani divides *uzlat* in two stages. In the first stage, the seeker must turn his back on mankind and keep himself away from the people. He must sever all ties, outward and inward, except relations with his guide who purifies his heart and mind as the *ghassal* (one who washes the corpse) washes the dead body.

The second stage of *Uzlat*, according to Hamadani, is to divert the senses from the forbidden to the lawful. In this state a person, although he lives among the people, is isolated and severed from the rest of mankind.⁴⁵

6. ***Dhikr* (recollection or remembrance):-** According to Saiyid Ali it is the conscious recollection of Allah, to the exclusion of all that is “other than Allah”⁴⁶. The most excellent *dhikr* he believes, is *la ilaha ill-allah* (there is no God but Allah).⁴⁷ Hamadani regards it a spiritual medicine composed of both negative and positive elements. *La ilaha* is the negative element of the *dhikr*, it purifies the self from evil such as jealousy, pride, greed and hypocrisy. The affirmation *ill-allah* makes the heart healthy and protects it from evil dispositions.

In his *Risala-i-Dhikriya*, Hamadani categorically rejects the *dhikr-i-ijhar* (*dhikr* recited aloud or outwardly) and recommends only *dhikr-i-khafi* (*dhikr* recited silently or inwardly).⁴⁸ On the basis of certain verses of the Quran,⁴⁹ Hamadani pleads that *Dhikr-i-khafi* is a superior way of reciting the name of Allah. It is more respectful and leads the seeker to Allah in a most befitting manner.⁵⁰

7. ***Tawajjuh* (attention or concentration):-** Saiyid Ali holds that it means to turn to Allah⁵¹ entirely. When one is diverting one’s attention to Allah, he writes, one’s thoughts should be completely absorbed in Him and should not be distracted by things other than Allah. Hamadani quotes Junaid approvingly that if a true seeker treads on the path to Allah for thousands of years and shows negligence for a single moment, he loses all the blessings earned during a thousand odd years.⁵²

8. **Sabr (patience):-** It is mentioned in the Quran at many places and a *sabir* (man having patience) is highly praised.⁵³ Hamadani holds that patience is the basis of all *ibadah* (worship). It means to subdue one's carnal self, and to inculcate love for Allah's worship and firmness in *mujahada* (mortification). If all connections with worldly objects are severed the soul is brightened, but this can be achieved only through *sabr*.⁵⁴ Hamadani in his *Maqamatul sufiya*, writes: "Even if the sufi suffers from the calamities of both the visible and invisible world, he should not utter a sigh (in grief). And if he is subjected to the hardships of both worlds he should accept them patiently."⁵⁵
9. **Muraqaba (contemplation):-** Hamadani says that it amounts to giving up all authority and activity over which the seeker has control. Sufis, he goes on, await the divine grace. They swim in the ocean of divine unity and make themselves the moth of the lamp of divine beauty. Their heart kindles through the light of divine contemplation. They abandon dark lane, which leads to an ephemeral goal, and travel on the wide lane of the divine light.⁵⁶
10. **Riza (to be pleased):-** It is the last of the stages and denotes a condition in which the seeker is always pleased with whatever befalls him.⁵⁷ Some sufis regard it to be *hal*⁵⁸ (state) and some a *maqam*⁵⁹ (stage).

Hamadani regards *riza* as a *maqam* (stage/station) and says that it is the highest of all the stages. *Riza*, he writes, means that the sufi should stop taking interest in himself in order to gain the satisfaction of the *mahbub* (beloved), that is Allah.

Saiyid Ali Hamadani divides the saints into the following two categories:⁶⁰

1. *Muqtasidan* (those who follow a moderate course)
2. *Sabiqan-i-satuf-i-wilayat* (leaders of the ranks of sainthood).

Before proceeding to describe these categories, Hamadani asserts that Allah created man in order to manifest His great mystery. He endowed man with

reason and faith, so that he might select for himself the ideal path. Hamadani holds that majority of men are misled by the carnal self and only a few are able to follow the right path of reason and faith. But the *muqtasidan* and *sabiqan-i safaf-i-wilayat*, he goes on to say, did comply with conditions which were responsible for their creation.⁶¹

The *Muqtasidan* are the people who succeed in crushing the beastly elements in their nature and seek to lead a pious and pure life. They overcome the difficulties and afflictions of the worldly life. They regard it a real *jihad* (effort, struggle), in the way of Allah.

Above *Muqtasidan* is the category of *sabiqan-i-safuf-i-wilayat*, those who are not engrossed in the darkness of *nasut* and have found a place in the wide expanse of *lahut*. By annihilating their ephemeral existence they find an everlasting life of divine Majesty.⁶²

In his *Risala-i-Futuhiya* Hamadani mentions a category of the sufis known as *maqbulan* (accepted ones)⁶³. He further sub-divides them into two groups: *muqarraban* and *abrar*. The *muqarraban*, Hamadani regards, are the travellers on the path of *tariqat* and the soldiers of the battle field of *haqiqat*. They do not bother themselves with the problems of space and time. They subdue their reason, control their carnal self and the lusts and desires of both worlds.⁶⁴ They yearn for nothing but to find an everlasting existence in the ocean of divine unity. The light of their mysteries kindles the lamp of the assembly of all the spiritually minded.⁶⁵

Hamadani sub divides *abrar*, the second group of *maqbulan*, into two classes:⁶⁶

1. *Ahl-i-futuwwat* (bountiful) who are devoted to the service of mankind.
2. Those who are so devoted entirely to Allah and have no concern with worldly people. They are sub-divided by Hamadani into *walihan-i-tariqa*⁶⁷ (lit, astonished ones of the path of *tariqa*) or *maslubi-aql* (bereft of reason) and *Zahidan*⁶⁸ (ascetics) or *Zu'aql* (endowed with reason).

Hamadani writes that *walihan-i-tariqa* should neither be followed nor rejected.⁶⁹ They are overawed by divine love, they have no control over their senses and reason, and they drown themselves in the ocean of divine unity.

The *Zahidan* are convinced that the world is contemptible and full of deceit and evil. They voluntarily give up all pleasures and enjoyment and spend their lives in acts of devotion of all kinds. They are spiritually strong and prosperous⁷⁰ although they appear to be feeble.

About the nature and qualities of *ahl-i-futuwat*, Hamadani quotes the sayings of various sufis. Hasan Basri (21-110/641-728), he writes has said that those who are the enemies of their carnal self belong to this group. Fazil Abbas (Fuzail Iyaz, d. 187/802), remarked that they are kind and distribute their wealth to the people indiscriminately to friend and foe, or believer and non believer. Yahya ibn Maaz (d.258/871), believed that they have three virtues. They are pious, honest and loyal to their friends.⁷¹

Hamadani however on the authority of caliph Ali (Rad.A) asserts that the main pillars of *futuwat* are four:⁷²

1. To forgive despite power to wreak vengeance.
2. To exhibit patience in anger.
3. To wish well even to an enemy.
4. To prefer the needs of others to one's own.

Hamadani, like all other sufis, writes that no one can travel on the path to Allah without the guidance of a preceptor who is duly authorised to initiate disciples.⁷³ Knowledge acquired by personal effort is of no avail⁷⁴. Saiyid Ali holds that an individual might perform ascetic exercises and mortifications for hundreds of years, but it would be of no use unless he serves a man expert in the *tariqa*.

In *Risala-i-darweshiya*, Hamadani asserts that religious and spiritual guidance is a very specialised subject. He believes that without the protection of a

perfect and experienced person no one can transcend the bondage and darkness of desire.⁷⁶ He warns that the teachers for the acquisition of different types of religious knowledge should be selected with care, the reason being that a large number of scholars have emerged in all parts of the Islamic world who call their frivolous disputes *kalam* (scholastic theology). They pursue knowledge in order to gain fame but in fact they are not acquainted with the realities of religion. They ignore the teachings of the Quran and *sunna* and do not care for the subtle points of Divine knowledge, and thus they misguide people.⁷⁶ Thus he urges that only those ulama should be selected for obtaining religious knowledge who are not hypocrites but are endowed with piety and righteousness⁷⁷.

References

1. Kubra is an abbreviation of his title Tammatu al-Kubra, which was given to him by his friends during his student life, on account of his victories in debates with his adversaries (Amin Ahmad Razi; *Haft-Iqlim*; III, p. 317).
Cf. A.Q. Rafiqi; op cit.; p. 28.
2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; V, Pp.300-301.
3. Iqbal Bin Sabiqi-Sistani, *Chihil Majlis*, p.183a.
4. Jami, *Nafhatul Uns*; p. 269.
5. *Ibid*, Pp. 272-73.
6. *op.cit*, Pp. 300-301.
7. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, p. 823.
8. Amin Ahmad Razi; *op.cit*, Pp. 318-9.
9. Jami, *op.cit*. Pp. 273-4.
10. *Idem*.
11. Cf. Asghar Ali Hikmat; *Les voyages D un Mystique persons De Hamadan Au Kashmir*, Journal Asitique, CCXL, 1952, Pp. 55-6.
12. The nisba probably relates to Baghdadak in Khwarizm.
13. J.S. Trimingham; *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 56; Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971.
14. Ibn Batuta, *Voyages d' ibn Batouta texa* and tr. Defremery and B.R. Sanguinitti Paris ed. iii, Pp. 5-6 C.
15. Ibn khaldun, *Ibar*, Bulaq 1867, Vol V, p. 534.
16. Ibn Batuta, *Ibid*, p .27 Who attended a *sama* at the convent when songs were sung in Turkish and Persian.
17. Most derivatives branched out from one line that of Najmuad-din's most forceful and independent pupil, Majidud-din-al Baghdad.
18. Abul Fadl, *A' in-i Akbari*, 1948, edn Vol. III Pp. 407-8.
19. For detailed study of his life and works please see 3rd Chapter of this dissertation.
20. E.I. (i) 346-7, with ref. to unpublished MS, material see A.A.Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Agra 1965, Pp. 36-42.
21. J.S.Trimingham; *Sufi Orders in Islam*; p. 58.

22. Hamadani, *Risala-i-sharh-i-mushkil hal*; p. 269a.
23. Theologians and other classes of men give the name *ma'rifa* (gnosis) to right cognition (*ilm*) of Allah but sufi shaikhs call right feeling (*hal*) by that name (Hujwiri, *kashf al Mahjub*, Eng tr. R.A. Nicholson, p. 267).
24. Hamadani, *op. cit.*, p. 269a.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Hujwiri, an eleventh century sufi scholar rejects the theory that gnosis is the result of *ilham* and says, gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from false-hood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion. (*Kashful mahjub*, Eng tr. R, A, Nicholsons) p. 271.
29. The term is used by the sufis for a person who is attracted by divine grace and has little or no control over his actions.
30. Hamadani *op. cit.*; p. 269a. Shibli (d. 334/945) is said to have remarked "Gnosis" is continual amazement (Hayrat). Hujwiri, *op. cit.* p. 275.
31. Hamadani, *Risala-i-Masharibul-Azwaq*; p. 237a.
32. *Idem.*
33. Hamadani, *op. cit.* p. 237b.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Hamadani *op.cit.* p. 237b.
36. Hamadani; *Risala-i-Dah Qaida*; p. 134a.
37. *Idem.*
38. *Idem.*
39. Hamadani; *op. cit.* 134 a-b.
40. Cf. Al-sarraj; *Kitabul-luma*; Ghazali; *Ihya*; Suhrawardi; *Awariful-Maarif*.
41. Hamadani, *op. cit.* p. 135 a.
42. Hamadani *op. cit.* Pp. 135 b-136a.
43. *Ibid*, p. 136a.
44. *Ibid*; Pp. 135-136.
45. Hamadani; *op. cit.*, Pp. 135a-b.
46. *Ibid*; p. 135b.
47. Hamadani; *Risala-i-Dhikriya* p. 285a.

48. *Ibid*, p. 286a.
49. *Holy Quran*, 7:55, 49:02.
50. Hamadani, *op. cit.*, p. 286a.
51. Hamadani; p. 136b. risl D. 8.
52. *Idem*.
53. *Holy Quran*; 8:46; 11:11.
54. Hamadani; *Risala-i-Dah Qaida*; Pp. 136 b-137a.
55. *Muqamatul sufiya*; p. 275b.
56. Hamadani; *risala-i-Dah Qaida*; p. 137a-b.
57. cf. R.A.Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*; p. 41.
58. Hujwiri says *maqam* (station) belongs to the category of acts, *hal* (state) to the category of gifts. *Kashf al Mahjub*; p. 181.
59. Cf. A.J. Arberry; *Sufism*; p. 77 also cf. Hujwiri, *Kashf al Mahjub*; tr. Nicholson, p. 181.
60. *Risala-i dhikriya*, p. 280b.
61. *Ibid*, Pp. 280 b- 281a.
62. *Risala-i-Dhikriya*, p. 281a-b.
63. *Risala-i-Futuhiya*, p. 257a.
64. *Risala-i-Futuhiya*, p. 257a-b.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 257b.
66. *Ibid.*, Pp. 257b-258a.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 258a.
68. *Risala-i-Futuhiya*, p. 258a.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 258a.
70. *Idem*.
71. *Risala-i-Futuhiya*, Pp. 255b - 256a.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 256b.
73. Ghazali held that one who has no *pir* to guide will be led from the true path by *satan* (*Kimya sadat*, p. 268)
74. Hujwiri called such people "ignorant pretenders". *Kashf*, p. 17.
75. *Risala-i-Darweshiya*, p. 249b.
76. *Ibid*, p. 251a-b.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 251b.

Some Prominent Sufis of Kubraviya order and their contribution

According to Rafi'u'd-Din Ahmad¹, Muhammad A'zam², "Abdul Wahab³, Pir Hasan⁴ and few others, seven hundred Saiyids had accompanied Hamadani to Kashmir. Modern scholars like, Muhibbu'l Hasan⁵ and G.M.D. Sufi⁶ have uncritically accepted it. However, none of the sources gives a complete list of these disciples of Hamadani. Most of them came with Hamadani and a few of them were sent by him before his departure for Kashmir.⁷

Saiyid Taju'd Din and Saiyid Husain', two cousins of Hamadani, were the first to be deputed by Hamadani to explore the religious atmosphere in Kashmir⁸. Taju'd Din proceeded to Kashmir while Saiyid Husain went to India⁹. Sultan Shihabu'd-Din (1354-73), the ruler of Kashmir, built a *khanqah* for Taju'd Din at Shihabu'd-Dinpura¹⁰, close to his own palace, and granted the revenue of village Nagam for his maintenance¹¹.

Shihabu'd-Din used to consult Taju'd-Din both on religious and administrative matters.¹² Later, being encouraged by the Sultan's patronage, invited Saiyid Husain from India, to join him¹³. Saiyid Hussain settled at Kulgam¹⁴ where he was able to interest a considerable number of the local population in his activities¹⁵. His kitchen, for the maintenance of which he received state grant¹⁶, was open to all sections of society. His interest in the welfare of the public helped him to a large extent in converting them to Islam¹⁷. Saiyid Hussain breathed his last on 11 Sha'ban 792/25 July, 1390¹⁸. A magnificent shrine with "exquisite wood carving and painted lattice" at the village of Kulgam

stands as a memorial to the reverence with which the people held him¹⁹.

Saiyid Muhammad Kazim commonly known as Saiyid Qazi²⁰, was Hamadani's librarian (*tahwildar-i-kutub*). He was advised by Hamadani to settle at Latapura (a great centre of Hinduism) and propagate Islam there²¹. He worked there successfully and when he died he was buried there²².

Saiyid Kabir Baihaqi, one of the prominent disciples of Hamadani, preached the teachings of Islam to people²³ in Srinagar under the instructions of Hamadani.

Saiyid Muhammad Balkhi, also called Pir Haji Muhammad Qari, was a sound scholar of Islamic theology. When Hamadani left Kashmir, he particularly asked Pir Haji to stay there and guide the people to the path of Shari'a²⁴. Qutub-ud-Din built a *khanqah* for him and gave the revenues of two parganas for the maintenance of his *langar* (alms house), which was thrown open to all people²⁵. Because of the fame of *langar* this place is still called *langarhatta*²⁶.

Pir Haji is said to have built several *khanqahs* and mosques²⁷ but only one survives, the Ziyarat Pir Haji Muhammad Sahib, to the north of Srinagar. These *khanqahs* served as the nuclei of preaching²⁸ the teachings of Islam. Haji died after a short illness on 8 Rajab, 792/22 June, 1390²⁹ and was buried in his own *khanqah* at Langarhatta.

Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din and Saiyid Fakhrud-Din, two eminent disciples of Hamadani, made Avantipura³⁰, a celebrated centre of Hinduism, a centre of their activities³¹. Both of them were well known for their esoteric and exoteric knowledge³². They seem to have made a great contribution towards propagation of Islam there. Both Ruknu'd-Din and Fakhrud-Din were buried at Avantipura³³.

Saiyid Abdullah and Saiyid Muhammad Quraish, the other two disciples of Hamadani, were asked to settle down in the town of Vijabrore³⁴, a great centre of Hindu learning and famous for its numerous temples³⁵. Both, Abdullah

and Quraish, are reported to have been very active there in persuading the people to embrace Islam³⁶. The dates of their death are not known; however, it is said that they were buried near the Jami-Masjid in the same town³⁷.

Jamalu'd-Din Muhadith (the Traditionist), one of the most distinguished associates of Hamadani, was well-versed in the knowledge of Hadith (Traditions) and '*ilmu'l-tafsir* (knowledge regarding the interpretation of the Qur'an)³⁸. On account of his taqwa (piety) and devotion he was known as '*urwatu'l wuthqa* (true faith)³⁹. He settled in Srinagar in a mohalla, known after his name '*urwatu'l wuthqa*⁴⁰. He established a madrasa⁴¹ there and attracted a large number of pupils⁴². After his death he was buried in this mohalla which is now called Arwat.⁴³

Saiyid Kamalu'd-Din, the brother of Saiyid Jamalu'd Din Muhadith, was also a well-known sufi⁴⁴. He spent most of his time in travelling to various parts of the valley⁴⁵. He lies buried in the vicinity of Qutbu'd-Dinpura⁴⁶ where he had settled earlier.

Besides these disciples of Hamadani, names of a few others have been mentioned in various sources and it appears that most of them preferred to live an ascetic life. The prominent figures among them were Mir Saiyid Jamalu'd-Din 'Ata'i,⁴⁷ Saiyid Muhammad Firuz⁴⁸ also called Saiyid Jalalu'd Din, Kamalu'd-Din Thani⁴⁹ and Saiyid Muhammad Ahanposh or 'Ainposh⁵⁰.

Shaikh Sulaiman and his son Shaikh Ahmad were among the Kashmiri disciples of Hamadani who rose to eminence. Shaikh Sulaiman was originally a Brahman Srikanth⁵¹ by name. It is believed that his family strongly resented his conversion to Islam and for fear of persecution from his relatives, he left Kashmir for Samarqand, where he acquired Islamic learning⁵². After completing his education he went to Kolab, where he became the disciple of Hamadani⁵³. Later, Sulaiman accompanied Hamadani on his visit to Kashmir and spent rest of his life near Kohi-Sulaiman, in Srinagar⁵⁴.

Hamadani bestowed his personal care upon Shaikh Ahmad and made him his favourite disciple⁵⁵. When Hamadani left the valley, he appointed Shaikh

Ahmad as his khalifa, giving him precedence over his father, Sulaiman, who was still alive⁵⁶. Many people are said to have benefited from the religious and spiritual knowledge of Shaikh Ahmad⁵⁷.

Ibrahim A'dham generally known as Baba Haji A'dham⁵⁸ and Shaikh Fathu'llah Hafiz are mentioned among the disciples of Shaikh Ahmad. Ibrahim is said to have been a well-known scholar and the author of a treatise on Sufism called *Maqamat*⁵⁹. He died in 841/1437 and was buried in modern Sha'irwari in Srinagar⁶⁰. Fathu'llah, the son of Shaikh Ahmad, succeeded his father as the head of Kubraviyas in Kashmir⁶¹. Very little is known about his activities. Fathu'llah appointed his son Shaikh Isma'il as his khalifa⁶².

Shaikh Isma'il, a distinguished sufi and 'alim, founded a seminary, near his *khanqah*, at Kohi-Maran in Srinagar⁶³. Scholars from Kabul and India are said to have converged on his seminary. It was equipped with a rich library and a hostel⁶⁴. For the maintenance of his seminary he received state grant from Sultan Hasan Shah and his successors Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah⁶⁵. Sultan Hasan Shah had appointed Shaikh Isma'il as his Shaikhu'l-Islam⁶⁶ and in this capacity he is said to have constructed a number of mosques and *khanqahs* in the valley⁶⁷. Shaikh led a life of complete retirement towards the end of his life and appointed Baba 'Ali Najar as his khalifa⁶⁸. When Shaikh died on 1 Rabi'ul Auwal 916/8 June, 1510, he was buried near his own *khanqah* at Kohi-i-Maran in Srinagar⁶⁹.

Baba' Ali Najar under the influence of Mir Shams-ud-din 'Iraqi joined the Shi'a creed⁷⁰. The burden of maintenance of the seminary and *khanqah* fell upon Shaikh Fathullah, the son of Shaikh Isma'il⁷¹. However, Fathu'llah was forced by circumstances⁷² to emigrate to Sialkot, where he spent the rest of his life⁷³.

With the departure of Shaikh Fathullah from the valley, the *khanqah* and the seminary of Shaikh Isma'il were abandoned and with it ended that chain of the Kubraviya saints in Kashmir which had continued from Saiyid 'Ali through Shaikh Sulaiman down to the sixteenth century⁷⁴.

Khawaja Ishaq Khatlani and Amir Mulla generally known as Nuru'd-Din Ja'far Badakhshi⁷⁵ were the most distinguished among such disciples of Hamadani who did not accompany him to Kashmir. Khatlani was born at Khatlan in 735/1334⁷⁶. He became Hamadani's disciple while he was still in his youth. After the death of his preceptor (Hamadani), Khatlani succeeded him as his khalifa⁷⁷.

Khatlani attracted a considerable number of disciples including Saiyid Muhammad Nurbaksh, the founder of the Nurbakhshiya order⁷⁸. Both Khatlani and Saiyid Muhammad revolted in 816/1413, against Shah Rukh (808-850/1404-1447) of the line of Timur, who ruled in Persia and Central Asia for nearly fifty years⁷⁹. They were caught and imprisoned by Bayazid the governor of Khatlan. Khatlani was put to death on 16 Sha'ban 816/10 November, 1413⁸⁰ whereas the life of Saiyid Muhammad was spared.

Ja'far Badakhshi was highly educated and no spiritual guide except Hamadani was able to influence him. He was introduced to Hamadani by his brother, Haqgu, in 735/1334 at 'Ali Shah (a village in Khatlan)⁸¹. Badakhshi became his disciple and later wrote a treatise, the *Khulasatu'l-Manaqib*⁸², describing the life and spiritual achievements of his preceptor.

Before his death Hamadani had written a *Wasiyat-nama* (testament) and a khilafat-nama and had advised his disciples, who were with him, to send them to Khatlani and Badakhshi⁸³. In his testament, he had advised his son, Mir Muhammad,⁸⁴ to complete his education first and then travel to improve his character and enlighten his heart and soul⁸⁵.

Mir Muhammad learnt early lessons of Sufism from Khatlani for about three years and five months⁸⁶. Then he remained under the guidance of Badakhshi for seven months.

Mir Muhammad set off with a good number of his father's disciples for Kashmir. He arrived in Kashmir in 796/1393, at the age of twenty two⁸⁷, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). Sikandar became his disciple and built a *khanqah* for him in Srinagar where Mir's father, Hamadani, had

earlier stayed during his visit to Kashmir. Sikandar granted two parganas for the maintenance of this *khanqah* and revenues of one pargana exclusively for the use of Mir Muhammad⁸⁸.

Mir Muhammad, just after his arrival in Kashmir, started teaching and preaching Islam. Suha Bhat, Councillor or Commander-in-chief of Sikandar, was among the most influential persons who accepted Islam at his hands. He adopted Saifu'd Din as his Muslim name and married his daughter to Mir Muhammad⁸⁹.

After the arrival of Mir Muhammad there was a significant change in the State policy. Dancing of women publicly, selling of wine and gambling were declared prohibited acts⁹⁰. Jizya⁹¹ was imposed on non-Muslims and the custom of suttee was banned⁹². Mir stayed in the valley for about twelve years and left in 808/1405⁹³. He went first to Mecca and thence to Khatlan, where he died and was buried near the tomb of his father⁹⁴.

Another Kubravi sufi of high rank, Saiyid Hisari, is reported to have arrived in Kashmir sometime between 1389 and 1393 A.D.⁹⁵ He took up his residence at Nauhatta, in Srinagar, where he spent the rest of his life as a recluse⁹⁶. It is believed that under Hisari's influence Sikandar's policy, later, underwent a change. Jonaraja says that the Sultan fixed with some difficulty a limit to the advance of the great sea of the Yavnas⁹⁷, and abolished Jizya (turuskadanda)⁹⁸. Hisari continued to live in Kashmir and died there, where he was buried at mohalla Nauhatta⁹⁹ in Srinagar.

According to 'Abdul Wahab¹⁰⁰, Pir Hasan¹⁰¹ and a few other hagiological writers about three hundred saints accompanied Mir Muhammad to Kashmir. But only a few of those described by them appear to have achieved prominence.

Saiyid Ahmad or Muhammad Samnani was an 'alim and the author of a lost treatise called *Tanwir-i-Siraj*, written on the law of inheritance¹⁰². He was appointed by Sultan Sikandar as Qazi.¹⁰³ After his death he was buried at Fateh Kadal, in Srinagar¹⁰⁴.

References

1. *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*; p. 359.
2. *Tarikhi A'zami*; p. 36.
3. *Futuh-i Kubraviya*; p. 58b.
4. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*; vol.III; p.15.
5. *Kashmir under Sultans*; p. 56
6. *Kashir*; I; p. 85.
7. Pir Hasan; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*; III, p.6.
8. Abdul Wahab; *Futahat-i-Kubraviya*; p. 69.
9. Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit*; Pp. 35, 38.
10. The modern Shadipur, nine miles north-west of Srinagar; cf. Kalhana; *Rajatarangini* II; p. 329.
11. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.7.
12. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p.69b.
13. Muhiud-Din Miskin, *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p.9.
14. *Ibid*; also Cf. Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*, p.9.Kulgam is about 50 miles South-west of Srinagar.
15. MohammadA'Zam; *op.cit.* p38.
16. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p. 69b.
17. *Ibid*. Also cf., Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p . 9, Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit*; p. 38.
18. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.9
19. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*; p. 288.
20. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p.71a.
21. Pir Hasan; *op cit.*, p. 19.
22. *Idem*
23. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit.*, Pp. 65b, 66a.
24. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit.*, p. 70a; also cf. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, p. 21.
25. *Idem*.
26. *Idem*.
27. *Idem*.

28. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.20.
29. *Idem*.
30. It is a mini town on Srinagar-Jammu highway, about 25 miles south east of Srinagar.
31. Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit*; p.39..also cf. Muhiu'd Din Miskin; *op.cit*; Pp.20,21
32. Muhammad A'zam; *Ibid*.
33. Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit*., p.39 also cf., Abdul Wahab;*op.cit*; p.71a. Saiyid Ruknu'd-Din died on 17 Rabi'ul-Thani, 792/4 April, 1390 (Muhiu'd Din Miskin; *op.cit*; p.20). The date of Fakhru'd Din's death is not known, but he appears to have outlived Ruknu'd Din.
34. It is located on Srinagar-Jammu highway, about 35 miles to the south-east of Srinagar.
35. Kalhana, *Rajatarangni*; vol.II; p.463.
36. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p.71b
37. *Ibid*.
38. Saiyid 'Ali; *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 6a.
39. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*; p.70b.
40. *Idem*.
41. G.M.D.Sufi, *Kashir*;I, Pp. 346-7. also cf. A.Q.Rafiqi, *op.cit*; p. 93.
42. Saiyid 'Ali; *Ibid*.
43. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.18.
44. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin; *op.cit*. p.20.
45. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.18.
46. *Ibid*; also cf. Muhammad A'zami, *op.cit*; p. 38
- 47.
48. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin; *op.cit*., p.21. also cf. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*. p.70b; Firuz got settled at the village of Simpur in Pargana Vihi lying towards south-east of Srinagar.
49. He had settled down at the village of Naidkhai, in the modern distt. of Baramulla. He died on 3 Jumadu'l-Auwal, 790/9 June, 1388.(Muhiu'd-Din Miskin; *op.cit*., p.19).
50. He took up residence at Kanikadal, in Srinagar where he was buried. (Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit*., p.41. also cf., Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.21).
51. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit*., p.72a.

52. Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit.*, p.40.
53. Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*, p.191
54. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin; *op.cit.*, p. 138
55. Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur; *Khwariqu's-Salikin*; p. 55.b.
cf., Muhiu'd-Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, also cf. A.Q.Rafiqi., *op.cit.*, p. 94.
56. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit.*, p. 72b.
57. Muhammad A'zam, *op.cit*; p.40.
58. Ibrahim was originally from Balkh (*Baharistan-i-Shahi*; p.33a). After travelling extensively in various parts of the Muslim world he reached Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and became the disciple of Shaikh Ahmad.
59. Pir Hasan; *op.cit*; p.190.
60. Mulla Ahmad Bin Sabur; *op.cit*; p.56b.
cf., Muhammad A'zam., *op.cit*; p.55.
also cf., A. Q. Rafiqi; *op.cit.*, p. 95
61. Abdul Wahab; *op.cit.*, p. 78b.
62. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, p. 144.
63. *Idem*
64. Saiyid Ali., *op.cit.*, p. 22b.
65. Pir Hasan., *op.cit.*,p.193.
66. Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur., *op.cit.*, p.59a.
cf; Rafiu'din Ahmad., *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*; p.55a
67. 'Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, p. 79b.
68. Muhammad A'zam., *op.cit.*, p. 75.
69. Muhiu'd-Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, p.145
70. Pir Hasan., *op.cit.*, p. 192. Muhammad Aslam., *Gauhar-i-Alam*; p.139a.
These sources assert that Baba Ali was not well educated and therefore was easily trapped by Iraqi.
71. Saiyid ' Ali., *op. cit.*, p. 24a, cf. Muhammad A'zam ;*op.cit.*, p.77.
However, these sources say that Fathullah succeeded his father as the head of the Kubraviyas and do not mention that this happened after Baba Ali embraced Shi'ite creed.
72. By this time Kashmir was torn by Shi'i-Sunni conflicts. Though courting the wrath of Kaji chak, an orthodox Shi'i, who was the Wazir of Muhammad Shah-IV (1517-28). Fathu'llah's property was confiscated because the latter espoused the Sunni cause.
73. Pir Hasan; *op.cit.* III, p. 198. cf. Muhi-ud-Din Miskin., *op.cit.*, p.148.

74. A.Q.Rafiqi., *op.cit.*, Pp. 96-97.
75. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, Pp.66b., 102a.
76. *Ibid*; p.102a.
77. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, p. 66b.
78. Nuru'llah Shustari., *Majalisu'l Mu'minin*; p. 313.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 314
80. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, p. 102b.
81. Jafar Badakhshi; *Khulasatu'l-Manaqib*; Pp. 225-6.
82. This work was commenced in 787/1385-86, (Ja'far Badakhshi., *op.cit.*, p. 439.)
83. Dawud Mishkati., *Asraru'l-Abrar.*, Pp. 61b, 62a.
84. He was born at Khatlan in 744/1372 (Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*; II; P. 160; III, p. 23).
85. Dawud Mishkati., *op.cit.*, p. 62a.
86. Pir Hasan, *op.cit.*, III., p.23. •
87. Tahir; *Baharistan-i Shahi.*, p.26a.
88. *Ibid.*, Pp. 35a,b, 36a;
also cf. Dawud Mishkati; p. 38a.
89. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, p. 62b; Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*, p. 23.
90. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*; p. 26b, also cf. Haidar Malik., *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Pp. 94b, 95a.
91. It is a tax imposed on non-Muslims in an Islamic state where they are exempted from performing military services.
92. Suttee is a custom in which a Hindu widow immolates herself on her husband's funeral pyre.
93. Saiyid 'Ali; *op.cit.*, p. 14a.
94. Muhammad A'zam; *op.cit.*, p. 43.
95. Jonaraja; *Rajatarangani*; ed. Srikanth Kaul, p. 65.
96. *Ibid*, p. 112.
97. Dawud Mishkati; p. 426. Pir Hasan; *op.cit.*, III., p. 22.
98. *Futuh-i-Kubraviyya*; p. 62b.
99. *Tarikh Hasan*; vol. III; p. 23.
100. Saiyid 'Ali; *op.cit.*, p. 10b.
101. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, Pp. 72b-73a

102. Saiyid Ali; *op.cit.*, p.10b.
103. Abdul Wahab., *op.cit.*, Pp. 72b-73a.
104. Muhiu'd Din Miskin; *op.cit.*, Pp. 27, 28.

Conclusion

The doors for Muslim penetration into the valley were opened by the incursions of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1014 and 1016, long before the establishment of Shah Mir dynasty (1339-1561). It facilitated the absorption of elements of Muslim culture into many aspects of the life of the Kashmiris during the Lohara dynasty (1003-1320, 1320-1338):

With the establishment of Shah Mir dynasty began immigration from Persia and central Asia. A large number of Muslim scholars and saints were attracted to Kashmir because of the patronage offered by succeeding sultans. The Qadiri and Naqshbandi saints were few in numbers. It was the Suhrawardi and Kubravi saints who made the sufi teachings and practices pervasive.

The chain of Kubravi saints, associated with Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani accelerated the process of persianisation of administration, and the development of a new way of life substantially different from that of ancient Kashmir. The persianisation of administration and society gradually ushered in what may be called cultural conquest.

The tradition of mixing with the rulers and taking part in political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardi and Kubravi saints. They believed that by associating themselves with royal courts, they could change the outlook of rulers. These traditions determined the attitude of the Suhrawardi and Kubravi saints. Besides occupying religious positions such as that of *qadi* and Shaikhul Islam, some of them had high posts in the administration,

including that of *wazir*; they also served as ambassadors. They visited the nobles and the royal court and established matrimonial alliances with leading nobles and the ruling house.

Their influence on the politics of Kashmir became more pronounced during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, who had a profound love and veneration for saints and divines.

Later, Zainul Abidin (1420-70) also showed great regard for both the sufis and the "ulama" but he stopped their interference in administration.

After the death of Hasan Shah I (1472-84) the Baihaqi Saiyids dominated politics of the country for many years. In 1579 they even seized the throne of Kashmir.

The sufis had influence on the administration not only because they associated themselves with the court but also because, on many occasions, defeated princes and nobles out of favour approached them and asked for their blessings.

The establishment of the *Khanqahs* helped the dissemination of Islamic spiritual and intellectual values. Their establishment at important Hindu centres such as Awantipora, Vijabror, Mattan, Sopur and Srinagar, suggests that the sufis were prepared to face Hindu religious and intellectual challenges. The interest that some sufis evinced in the welfare of the people in general must have also helped them to attract non- Muslims to their *Khanqahs*.

The sufis, especially the Kubravis, also established madrasas where Islamic knowledge was imparted to common Muslims. Madrasatul Islam, Madrosatul Darush-Shifa and the Madrasatul Urwatul Wuthqa, all at Srinagar, were some important madrasas.

These madrasas served as centres of interaction between Kashmiri, Central Asian and Persian scholars. That is why we find contribution of a number of Kashmiri scholars in various branches of learning.

Glossary

abdāl "substitutes", certain Sufis of whom, it is said "God continues the world in existence. When one dies another takes his place, being so appointed by God".

abid a devotee, one who intensely adores God.

abjad the Arabic alphabet in the traditional arrangement, in which the letters denote the numbers as used for chronograms: a=1, b=2, j=400, d=500.

abrar a state of being well pleased. Ali bin Uthman al-Hujwiri writes: "But of those who have power to loosen and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyar*, and forty, called *Abdal*, and seven, called *Abrar*, and four, called *Awtad*, and three called *Nuqaba*, and one, called *Qutb* or *Ghawth*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent." *Kashf al- Mahjub*, tr. Nicholson, p.214.

Abul Fuqara father of the poor, the title of Baba Nasibuddin Ghazi.

Advaita tatva a distinctive system of Kashmiri Saivite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism (*advaita*). In this philosophy the knowledge of the "basal truths" or 'fundamental and general factors of which the apparent universe consists (*tatva*)' is a pre-requisite for attaining union with the supreme self or **Parama Siva**.

ahankar pride.

ahl-i-qalam men of pen. In olden days the Kashmiri Pandits were also known by this title.

ahkam injunctions, instructions, regulations.

ahkam-i-shara injunctions of the religious law.

Ahl-i-Hadith the followers of the Prophet's tradition. Muslims are generally followers of the Prophet's tradition in one way or the other. However, in the context of history, the people who call themselves Ahl-i-Hadith, or the People of Tradition, take special care to adhere to the Quran and Hadith. They speak of themselves as Muwahhid, or "Unitarians", and severely condemn visit to the shrines, Urs ceremonies, holding of gatherings in which the help of saints is invoked and any such practice as did not exist in the time of the Prophet. The Ahl-i-Hadith do not form any sect of Islam; are essentially Muslim reformists and, in their religious zeal they have hurt the susceptibilities of the devotees of the shrines to such an extent that they have been misunderstood as anti-Sufi.

"Ahl-i-sunna wa jama" 'the people of the community. The expression especially used for the sunnis who lay great stress on following the sunna - 'He who tires of my sunna, does not belong to me'. Bukhari.

Ahl-i-bait the people of the house. A term used in the Quran (9 33/33), and in the Hadith (Mishkat XXIV-21), for the household of Muhammad.

akhyar see abrar.

aksar most.

Allah the name of the creator of the universe in the Quran.

alam al-mithal the world of analogies, the world of the spiritual powers between the human (*nasut*) and the divine (*malakut*) spheres. there

the advanced sufi can see such events related to both the past and the future as are beyond ordinary description.

alif first letter of the Arabic alphabet, symbol of Allah, numerical value 1.

alim a scholar learned in religious sciences, a member of the 'ulama class.

alam al-mulk wa shahada see *nasut*.

alam al-Ghaib the (uncreated) world of mystery.

Al-i-Muhammad the offspring of the Prophet Muhammad.

amama turban.

amba mother.

ambi mother.

am plebian, the common people.

amr command.

an-al-Haqq "I am the creative truth", uttered by al-Hallaj (exec. in 922 in Bhagdad). Superficially interpreted as 'I am God', but in its deeper meaning, affirmation of the existential unity of the creator and the created.

anubhave jnana direct experience, active participation in the eternal truth, is distinguished from the indirect and passive participation in religious knowledge by belief. This is *jnana*, the most perfect union between God and man. (S. Radhakrishnan, *Recovery of Faith*, p. 139).

aql intellect.

aqida-i-sunniya belief of the large majority of Muslims acknowledging the first four Khalifas to have been the rightful successors of the Prophet Muhammad, and who receive the Kutub sittah, or "six authentic books of

tradition”, and who belong to one of the four schools of jurisprudence founded by Imam Ahmed ibn Hambal. The word sunni with its plural sunniyan is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic Ahlu-sunnah, “the people of the Path.” The Shias who also claim to follow the traditions of the Prophet have, however, allowed the Sunnis to claim the title of traditionalists.

“arif” the gnostic, advanced mystic, he who possesses true knowledge gained by contemplation, meditation and so on.

“arsh” the throne of Allah.

“Asma-i-Haqq” Names or Attributes of Allah.

“Asmau’l hasna” most beautiful Names or attributes of Allah.

Ashiq a lover.

ashiqan pl, of ashiq, lovers.

“asthan” abode, shrine, place of pilgrimage.

“attahiyat” greeting. The adorations (i.e. attahiyatu) which are part of the daily prayers of Muslims throughout the world are for Allah’, and also of the body and alms-giving. Peace be on thee, O Prophet, with the mercy of Allah and His blessing. Peace be upon us, and upon Allah’s righteous prayer.

“aurad” invocatory prayer.

“auraq-i-tuz” leaves of the thin bark of a species of birch for writing upon, in lieu of paper.

“avatar” incarnation of a deity.

“awam” commoners.

“awtab” props or pillars, in tasawwuf the term is used for the four saints, by whom the four corners of the world are said to be supported. See abrar.

“ayah”	sign, index or evidence of God, pl. <i>ayat</i> .
“azan”	announcement, the call or summons to public prayers proclaimed by the crier (<i>muazzin</i>).
“Baba”	In Sanskrit the term is a synonym of an ascetic (<i>sanyasi</i>), but in the Persian chronicles and hagiographies of the valley of Kashmir the specific use of <i>baba</i> for the Muslim Rishis has certainly the connotation of the wandering Turkish <i>darwish</i> , the babas of the central Asia.
“bait”	allegiance, pledge of allegiance of a sufi novice to his initiating spiritual preceptor by grasping his right hand. The vow binds the disciple to his master in spiritual matters.
bakhshish	present, gift, reward, beneficence.
baraka	blessing, power of blessing inherent in saintly persons or sacred objects.
batin	inner, hidden, the antonym of <i>zahir</i> , q.v. The inner learning (<i>al-ilm al-batin</i>) meaning esoteric or sufi learning. It is ‘depth’ learning, hence distinguished from the esoteric learning (<i>al-ilm azzahir</i>) of such an ‘alim as does not care to delve deep into the depth meaning (<i>batin</i>) of the Quran under the guidance of a murshid. Al-Batin, “The Inner”, is one of the Names of Allah in the Quran.
bhakti	popular mystical current in medieval Hinduism in which the relationship between man and his deity is described in terms of love.
bhand	the strolling players, the minstrels of Kashmir’.
bhakta	a person who practices selfless devotion (<i>bhakti</i>) as a means of reaching Brahman.
Bhagwat	Name of a philosophic poem (an episode of Mahabharata) held in high esteem by the Vaishnavas.

Bhagavad Gita	a portion of the Mahabharata, “having the form of a dialogue between the hero Arjuna and his charioteer, i.e. the <i>avatar</i> Krishna, in which a doctrine combining Brahmanical and other elements is evolved.
Bhugi	derivative of Bhagwan, God. Shaikh Nuruddin invariably uses the term in his poetry.
bida	a reprehensible innovation, something added to or deviant from the Prophetic tradition.
buddhi	perception, intelligence, understanding, sense, intellect, wisdom.
Budshah	the Great King, the title of sultan Zain al-Abidin.
Chour Alam	four worlds or four gradations of existence.
Chilla	forty day's seclusion, in which the novice or a sufi is completely detached from the world and engrossed only in prayer and meditation.
dambael	dance.
dambael maet	ecstatic dancers.
dammaras	feudal landowners of medieval Kashmir who destroyed the power of the Tantrins.
darwish	a Persian word derived from dar, “a door”, i.e., those who go from door to door. The term is generally used for a sufi who practices <i>faqr</i> .
dastgir	helper.
dayak	communicating counsellor.
dev	monster
dharma	righteousness, religious ordinances, rules of conduct,

peculiar duties of the individual, while the Dharmasastra is a collection of legal aphorisms.

dhikr remembrance of God by the repetition of Divine names or religious formulae.

dhikr-i-chahar zarb see makhfi chahar zarb.

dhikr-i-khafi remembrance of the creator in the heart and mentally. Shaikh Nuruddin emphasizes the recitation of dhikr inwardly as well as mentally (*dhikr saethi ratun malay fikr saethi tarus pan*)

dhikr-i-jali repetition of Divine Names or religious formulae in a loud voice. God's Names or religious formulae contained in the Aruad-i-Fathiyya are still recited aloud in a rhythmic manner in the mosques and shrines of Kashmir valley.

dhikr-i-jahri see dhikr-i-jali

dhyan contemplation, profound religious meditation

doha an old and popular Prakrit and Hindu metre, a couplet, distich the two verses of which rhyme, each verse consisting of 24 matras.

duhi daughter.

dumbs village watchmen in Kashmir.

durud a benediction, recitation of blessing for the Prophet Muhammad in Namaz and every prayer of the faithful.

dyul grass with which a bouquet is tied.

dqija/dwija the twice born, according to Hinduism, everyone is a Sudra by birth and is eligible to a higher status only after performing certain rites, Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are said to be twice born, the first being natural birth and the other, religious when initiation takes place.

falah	excellence in the deed.
faqir	poor, general name for the sufi, a sufi having attained the state of ecstatic rapture, also used for religious mendicants.
faqih	expert of jurisprudence (fiqh)
faqr	poverty, indigence, the ideal or the quality of the prophet Muhammad who claimed that it was his pride. Hence also the ideal of the Sufis both in the sense of not possessing anything in this world and not to be possessed by anything. The Quran (35/16) states: "Oh you men. you are the poor (<i>fuqara</i>) in relation to God, and it is He who is the Independent, The Glorious".
fikr	thought, reflection.
fiqh	jurisprudence.
fatiha	the first chapter of the Quran, repeated in namaz and almost at every religious occasion, in special fatiha ceremonies; in the valley of Kashmir the fatiha is recited over saltish Kashmiri tea for the benefit of a deceased person.
fuqara	pl. of faqir.
furqan	one of the names of the Quran, meaning a discrimination.
fandana	leek.
ghazi	a warrior, especially one who fights for the cause of Islam.
gongal	a ceremony observed in the villages of Kashmir on the eve of spring.
gor	a spiritual teacher or preceptor.
gotra	tribal divisions of Kashmiri Pandits.

Ghauth Help. The title is given to the most distinguished member of the hierarchy of sufis; for instance, the celebrated Sufi Abdul Qadir Jilani is popularly known as Ghauth al-Azam.

habs-i-dam to hold one's breath for a long time during the *dhikr*, breath control. Shaikh Nuruddin remarks: *dhikr-i Haqq par zew dith talas*, i.e. remember God while keeping the tongue pressed against the roof of your mouth, your lips and teeth firmly shut, and hold your breath.

hadith saying of the Prophet Muhammad based on the authority of a chain of transmitters. The Prophet uttered his words of wisdom at a given situation. His sayings (*ahadith*) form the very basis of Muslim life. The most authentic sayings were collected in six volumes in the second half of the 9th century, among them, those of Bukhari (d. 870) and Muslim (d.975), called *Sahihain*, are of particular significance.

hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, obligatory on every Muslim once in his life, if he has the means to perform it.

hal condition to which a devotee of Allah is transferred by purifying his *nafs*, spiritual state.

hangul the Kashmiri stag.

Hara a name of Mahadev or Siva and of Agni. Nuruddin has also used the name Hara (Har) in his poetry for the dissemination of Islamic teachings among the unlettered folk.

Haqiqa mystic truth, reality, the main goal of a sufi is to reach the stage of the divine reality which is possible only by following the Shari'a.

haqq-i mahr a marriage portion, or gift, settled upon by the husband before marriage, dower.

haqq truth or reality. According to the Quran (18/29): "The truth is from your Lord, in other words, God alone is the Reality of realities. The essential reality of a sufi is that his every action is determined by Ihsan.

The Prophet's saying, *likulli dhi haqqin haqiqah*, to every real thing there corresponds a divine reality (or truth) also needs to be read in this context.

Hazrat presence majesty, highness, or the modes of divine presence in contemplation.

Hikma wisdom, prudence; it may consist of practical knowledge or of intuition concerning the divine essence and names.

hosh dar dam social awareness even while breathing, the Sufis of the Naqshbandi order were mentally alert even while controlling their breath.

Id al-Adha the feast of sacrifice.

Ihsan doing everything as beautifully as possible, perfection in spiritual terms which consists in worshipping God "as if you were seeing Him, for if you do not see Him, He sees you".

ijaza licence, most sufis claimed several initiations and possessed a number of licences (*ijazas*).

ikhalas sincerity, purity of intention, title of the 112th chapter of the Quran.

Imam One who leads the ritual prayers at a mosque; among shias the leader of the community who is the descendant of the Prophets son-in law, Ali, and his daughter Fatima.

Iman faith, the inward aspect of Islam.

Islami masawat the Islamic concept of equality.

Istighfar seeking forgiveness of God, the Prophet is reputed to have remarked: "I swear by Allah that I ask pardon of Allah, and repent before Him more than seventy times daily".

izn permission, leave.

Jabarut the world of Omnipotence, i.e of the divine Names

and Attributes, manifestation beyond form.

Jali aloud.

Janbaz one who gives up one's life, Sayyid Muhammad Isfahani earned the title of Janbaz' for his extreme ascetic practices.

Jihad "holy war" against the tyranny, oppressions and ethnocentrism of the infidels; in terms of the depth meaning of the Quran, jihad connotes an incessant struggle against one's base instincts (nafs-i-ammara).

Jizya capitation tax (based on Sura 9/29) realised from the ahl al-kitab, theoretically, the payment of jizya ensures the protection of non-Muslims in an Islamic state and earns them exemption from military service. Sultan Zain al-Abidin abolished jizya.

Kaya the body, appearance.

Kalika relating to time, temporal, periodical.

Kalima word, the profession of faith in Islam.

Kaliyuga a world which is full of evil and wickedness.

Kam-fahm unintelligent.

Kamarband belt.

Kangri a portable earthenware bowl, covered with a frame of wicker work, Kashmiris put hot embers into the bowl for keeping themselves warm during the winter and the cold season, usually kangri (actually called kangar) is kept under a long loose- wrapper (pheran) or a blanket.

Karma moral conduct, religious observance, work, act.

Karamat a miracle attributed to a sufi.

Kaula race, tribe, family, noble birth.

Kaval	see kaula.
Khas	distinguished from common people, high, noble.
Khawas	plural of khas, distinguished persons, privileged.
Khafi	mentally.
Khalq	creation, mankind, people.
Khalifa	viceregent, successor of a spiritual leader, a sufi usually had one or more Khalifas who were authorised to induct others, into the order. According to the Quran (sura 2/31), God made Adam his Khalifa, his viceregent on earth, which shows man's exalted status among the creatures.
Khanqah	the hukbel structure in which a sufi lived, spiritual training was given in the Khanqah and usually a public kitchen and other facilities were attached to it.
Kharwar	an ass's load, equivalent to 177lbs. For centuries past it has remained the standard weight in the valley.
Khat-i-Irshad	see appendix. II
Khilwat dar anjuman	spiritual awareness even in being an active member of society.
Khirqah	the patched frock worn by sufis, generally gifted by a spiritual preceptor to a khalifa to symbolise the latter's succession or legitimise his authority to guide people.
Khwaja	master, teacher, title of the pioneers of the Naqshbandi order.
Koshur waiz	Kashmiri preacher.
Kitab	book.
Kram	family appellation.

Kreyi (kriya)	an action, especially pious, deeds, an act of devotion, act of worship, a holy action.
Krav	to strive in God's way.
Kriya	see kreyi.
Krodh	anger.
Kulah	cap.
Lahut	the world of Godhead, indescribable world of unity of thought erroneously defined as a stage in which human identity (<i>nasut</i>) is absorbed in timeless unicity.
Lam	letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value forty, a mystic symbol.
La makan	to go beyond the limits of space.
Libas-i-fakhira jamal	a costly and beautiful dress.
Libas-i taqwa	the dress of piety.
Lobh	lust, cupidity, greed; according to the Saivite philosophy, lobh is the chief-of the six enemies or sins which create impediments in uniting the individual self with the supreme. The six are, sexual desire (<i>kama</i>), wrath (<i>krodh</i>) desire (<i>lobh</i>), arrogance (<i>mada</i>), delusion of mind (<i>moha</i>) and jealousy (<i>matsara</i>). Shaikh Nuruddin repeatedly uses these words in order to impart Islamic teachings to the folk.
maet or mut	wandering faqirs, religious mendicants.
Magfirat	pardon for sins on the part of Allah, "Satan enjoins upon you the works of shame and sin. Allah promises you His mercy, forgiveness and bounty." Quran, 2/268.
Magh	name of the tenth Hindu month (corresponding to January-February), the full moon of which is near the constellation of Magha

or a Leonis (Regulus).

Makhfi chahar zarb a particular method of glorifying God by the constant repetition of His Names, by rhythmic breathing either mentally (*dhikr-i-khafi*) or aloud (*dhikr-i-jali* or *jahri*). This practice which was specially adopted by the Suharwardis also seems to have been popularised by Nuruddin.

Makru disapproved.

Malakut the invisible, spiritual or angelic world.

Malch derivative of *mleccha*, the earliest colony of Muslims in the valley was in Srinagar and this place is still known as Malchmar.

Manqabat anything in which a man glories or which confers on him prominence, glory, ability, accomplishment.

Mantra a religious formula enabling a Hindu mystic to attain unity with the supreme.

Maqamat pl. of *maqam* or stage.

Maratib-i-wujud four spheres of existence.

Ma arifah knowledge, gnosis.

Maruf good works, "You are the best ummah brought forth unto mankind, enjoining the good works, prohibiting the evil, and putting your faith in God", Quran 3/110.

Martazan goshgir wa wasilan faqir hermits in communion (with God)

Masah to wet one's hair, neck and sometimes toes, covered by socks during ablutions.

Mutlub the desired goal.

Mim letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value forty, symbol of Muhammad, a popular tradition makes God say, "*ana ahmad bila*

mim, I am Ahmad (honourific name of Muhammad) without a m, meaning thereby Ahad, One. In the sufi literature allusions to this well known tradition are actually made to emphasize the Creator's love for the most perfect of human beings i.e. the Prophet, Hence one who strictly adheres to the sunna of Muhammad endears himself to God.

Miraj ascension.

mithal a key term in the Quran, which means learning not by logical but analogical method, "It is simply the Access to the parable and not the parable or any idea that the 'metaphor' equals its interpretation. It has no specificity. Mithal is grasped on the wing' so to speak. It cannot be explored or analysed or extended. That is to say, it must not be approached notionally but emphatically with direct and clear seeing into".

Moksa eternal existence.

Mouk other.

Muamalat juridical and political obligations. The major portion of the corpus of Islamic law belongs to muamalat which is evidently social in its content, "Only a tiny section of the law of Islam has to do with rituals and worship and strictly personal ethics, the large part of the law deals with the social order, "(see Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, Tawhid, Its implications for thought and life, p.99). Nuruddin Rishi regards performance of rituals as a necessary prerequisite for the establishment of a peaceful and stable social order. Indeed, in his thought, even the personal aspects of the law, the rituals themselves, acquire a social dimension.

Mubtadi beginner.

Mutaddid renovator. He is supposed to appear at the beginning of every century in Islam. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d 1624), who made his mark at the beginning of the second millenium.

Mujizat pl. of mujizah, "making weak or feeble", that which

renders the adversaries of the truth, weak and feeble.

Mulla a Persian from used for the Arabic Maulawi, a learned man, a scholar.

Muminun pl. of mumin, believer, faithful.

Munajat fervent prayer (often chanted).

Munkar the evil, the sinful acts. "Let there be of you an ummah which calls for the good, which enjoins the good works and prohibits the works of evil. Those are truly felicitous". (Quran. 3/104).

Muraqaba meditation, an act of contemplation, especially performed by the sufis.

Murid a disciple, a novice.

Murshid the spiritual preceptor; literally, he who leads straight.

Nadan marad an illiterate man.

Nafi a work of supererogation.

Nafs the lower self, the lower instincts, the soul.

Nafs-i ammara the soul that, according to the Quran (sura 12/59), is inclined to evil.

Nafs-i lawwama the soul that, according to the Quran (sura 65/2), is self-reproaching and seeks God's grace and pardon after repentance and tries to amend.

Nafs-i-mutma inna the soul that, according to the Quran (sura 79/27), is at peace. The sufi's soul returns to its Lord in an exalted state, i.e. it is at peace.

Nahi-munkar prohibiting the evil. "You are the best ummah brought forth unto mankind, enjoining the good works, prohibiting the evil, and putting

your faith in God.” (The Quran 3/110).

Najasat filth.

Nama a letter, epistle, a record, treatise, history, a deed.

Nasb pedigree.

Namaz the Persian term for liturgical prayer (*salat*), the term is also used in Urdu and Kashmiri for the prayer at appointed times and also for supererogatory prayer.

nasut human nature, human identity, the mundane or phenomenal world, described by Ghazzali as *Alam-al Mulk we shahada*.

nat poetry in praise of the prophet, the tradition of reciting nat aloud in chorus still exists in the mosques and shrines of the Kashmir valley.

Nayaka a guide, leader.

Nazrana a gift or present.

Niamat bliss.

Nikah marriage contract.

Nirguna God is one and unqualified, the noumenal without constituents, in Hindu mysticism, the Absolute finally comes out of darkness into light, of the unconscious into the conscious and of nirguna into saguna, when the Absolute becomes the subject and object of all thought, the noumenal becomes the phenomenal. In Hinduism, the divinity is generally known through its names and attributes (*saguna*); the emergence of various sects in the history of Hinduism with their distinctive modes of worship for propitiating their personal deities (Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, Agni, Lakshmi, Krishna, Hari, Ganesh, Rai Kali etc).

Nundaen righteous people pl. of nund.

Nugaqa	see abrar.
Nur-i Muhammadi	“The Light of Muhammad”, the original essence of Muhammad known in Arabic as the Haqiqat al-Muhammadiyah, which is believed to have been created before all things.
ouk	one.
Pap	a sin, a sinful act.
pargana	the most important administrative unit in which the official came into direct contact with the cultivators.
parama-Siva	the supreme Siva, according to the Saivite philosophy of Kashmir, all that exists is but the Siva or the supreme in one or other of His manifestations. When therefore, one is ignorant of the unity of self and all creations with the supreme self, and thinks that there is a difference between contemplation and its object, it is really the supreme, temporarily blinded by His, illusive power, who is lost in this forgetfulness.
Pashban	village watchman.
Pas-i anfas	the sufi practice of controlling breath intrinsically, different from the yogic pranayama. While controlling their breath the sufis are able to remember God either aloud and inwardly or mentally so that even a moment's forgetfulness does not sever the link between the creator and the created.
Patwari	village accountant.
Pheran	a long loose- wrap worn by Kashmiris to protect themselves against cold.
Pir	Persian equivalent of the Arabic Shaikh, old man, venerable leader, the spiritual guide, the mystic leader.
Pir parast	worshipper of the spiritual preceptor.

Pir-i suhabat	see Shaikh al-suhba.
Pir waer	the valley of spiritual leaders or sufis, Kashmir is also called priwaer by a large number of the devotees of the shrines of sufis and Rishis.
Pranayama	the practice of controlling breath in order to obtain yoga, or union with the supreme.
Pratyabhijna	intrinsically a philosophical system, also known as Kashmir Saivism.
Pul-i sirat	the bridge across the infernal fire, which is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns, on the Day of Judgement the pious alone can pass over this bridge on their way to heaven while the wicked will fall into the fire of hell.
Pun	a sin, a sinful act.
Purusa	the soul or spirit, the active principle in creation as distinct from nature or matter, the passive prakriti.
Qabila-i pashban	tribe of watchmen.
Qawwali	musical concert of a religious nature, though music is prohibited in Islam.
Qudrat	the creation, the universe, nature, omnipotence.
Qulhu Allah	Say He is Allah, the first verse of <i>Surat al ikhlas</i> , 112th chapter of the Quran
Qutb al-Aqtab	the title given by Mulla Ali Raina to Shaikh Nuruddin, pl. of Qutb is aqtab.
Qutb	pole, axis; in tasawwuf, the pole of spiritual hierarchy. The pole of a period is also spoken as the highest member of the hierarchy of

sufis, is often unknown to even the most spiritual of men.

Sabad word.

Sadhu a wandering devotee, an ascetic.

Sadha Kashmiri form of the Sanskrit siddha, a respected saint who has attained one of the stages of beatitude.

Saguna the sphere of divinity with distinctive attributes.

Salat the liturgical form of prayer recited five times a day, see also namaz.

Rahib ascetic.

Rakah from ruku, to bend, incline towards. During namaz the faithful, while making an inclination of the head and body and placing the hands upon the knees, separating the fingers a little says: "I extol the Holiness of my Lord, the Great."

Ramadan the month of fasting in the Muslim calendar.

Rangan or Ranga theatre, stage.

Ratna mani hidden jewel.

rida acquiescence, satisfaction.

Riyazat to train, to discipline, religious exercise. devotion.

Rawafiz dissenters, nickname for Shiis. However it is no longer in use in Kashmir, thanks to the development of a better religious understanding between Shias and Sunnis.

Rishwaer the valley of Rishis.

Rishivatika the garden house of Rishis.

Roubkhana grand drawing rooms.

Salat al istiqā	prayers recited in times of dearth, especially rain, see Sahi ul Bukhari.
Salik	a traveller on the Sufi path.
Salihan	pl. of salih, the pious.
Sanad	credential, testimonial, certificate, proof, authority.
Sangan	unity, derivative of the Sanskrit term sang.
Sastras	a code of laws. Hindu holy writ or learning in general.
Shaikh	a title of respect given to various sufis, or elderly Muslims in general, a Muslim professing Arab descent. While converts to Islam generally assumed this title, it is also significant to note that generally every Kashmiri Muslim addresses the Muslim scavenger by the title of Shaikh, In fact, the community of scavengers and cobblers in the valley has, since its assimilation in Islam, been known as “the Shaikh community”. What is more, there exists a strong tradition in Kashmir that the Qutb is a cobbler or a scavenger by virtue of his profession, the humblest of all. Stories about the most exalted rank of an unknown cobbler, because of his piety and humility, still current in certain circles, actually point to the spirited social response that Islam evoked in the caste- ridden Brahmanic society.
Shaikh al-Islam	title of highest religious official.
Safat	intercession, recommendation.
Sharda	a name of Sarasvati (q.v) and of Durga.
Shāna	the Revealed law, every Divine messenger (rasul) brought a new Sharia, emphasizes the Quran, but that revealed to Muhammad is the final one since it consists of the totality of Allah’s commands regulating the life of every Muslim in relation to God and his fellow beings.
Shirk	associating anything with God, polytheism, paganism, idolatory.

Sharad a kind of funeral rite or ceremony in honour of the departed spirits of deceased relatives observed at various fixed periods. It consists of offerings with water and fire to the gods.

Shruk term used for the quatrains of Nuruddin.

Shuniya void, emptiness, "The thing which is really nothing is the apparent material existence- the material world or the consciousness of the material world. With the acquirement of the knowledge, its unreality is recognised, and the apparent reality disappears in the transcendental void (see George Grierson, *Lall-Vakyan*, p. 201). For how a void became merged in the void, see *Ibid*, Pp 200-201, also Chatterjee, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp 62 Pp.

Silsilah the chain, the *tasawwuf* connotes the continuity of spiritual descent which goes from a sufi master to the Prophet.

Sirat Way

Siratul mustaqim right way, in each namaz a Muslim prays to Allah for guiding him to the right way.

Siva the supreme Deity, absorption in whom is final emancipation.

Slok a hymn of praise, a saying, a distich, verse. stanza (esp, the epic stanza, consisting of two verses, each of sixteen syllables).

Suluk journey, road, path.

Suffa a kind of vestibule or portico for shade and shelter, open in front.

Sunna the tradition of the Prophet, his manner of life according to which the faithful should act.

Sura each of the 114 chapters of the Quran.

Sura-i Yasin	the 36th sura or chapters of the Quran, called the heart of the Quran, recited also for a dying or deceased person.
Tabarruk	blessing
Tafsir	commentary, para-phrase.
Tafakkur	contemplation.
Tajalli-i ruh	enlightenment of soul.
Taklif	obligation, accountability.
Talab	a state of quest
Taliban	pl. of talib, seekers in the spiritual path.
Tariqa	path, sufi order, religious brotherhood. All sufi orders follow the path of Muhammad.
Tasawwuf	Sufism.
Tasfiya-i-qalab	refinement of heart
Taqwa	piety, abstinence, continence, preserving or guarding oneself from the snares of the self through the observance of fasts.
Tauba	the turning of the heart from sin, repentance, contrition.
Tauhid	to declare that God is One, monotheism, consciousness of one's oneness with God in the sharia- structured relationship, in this oneness the seeker is profoundly conscious of his servanthship (<i>ubudiyyat</i>).
Tadhkira	literally "mentionings" a collection of biographical accounts, compiled from both written and oral traditions.
Tazkiya-i nafs	purification of the self.
Tirtha	(tirath) a shrine or sacred place of pilgrimage.
Trika	trinity, Kashmir Saivism consists of several trinities

and therefore it is also named "Trika philosophy". "The first trinity of the system is that of its basic scriptures. This system is based on (1) Siddha Tantra, (2) Malini Tantra and (3) Namaka Tantra. The system teaches a practice of yoga which is analysed into three major categories named Sambhava, Sakta and Anava. This is the second trinity of this system. For details see B.N. Pandit, *Aspects of Kashmir Saivism*, p.201-202.

Ubud humble servants, pl of abad.

Ubudiyyat servants; when God mentions the Prophet Muhammad, He refers to his servanthship' and says. "He revealed to His servant that which He revealed." Quran, 53/10.

Ulama pl. of alim, scholar - jurists upon whom the interpretation of the Sharia rests.

Ulama-i akhirat the Ulama whose interest is mostly directed towards the other world.

Ulamai zahiri the worldly ulama who associated themselves with the government and complied with a ruler's wishes, even if the latter flouted the religious law, usually cultivated such habits of mind and heart through their association with kings and rich people as were inimical to the growth of higher spiritual and ethical values in Muslim society.

Umma community

Ummi unlettered.

Upanishads philosophical treatises, from the Vedas, forming the basis of the monistic school of thought.

Ushr pl. ushur, A tenth or tithe given to the public treasury of a Muslim state (*Baitul Mal*)

Vaakh a word, vaakh is equivalent of the Sanskrit vakya, i.e. Lal Ded's sayings (*Lalla-Vakyan*), or the verses composed and recited by

her.

Vedas the sacred scriptures of the Hindus.

Vedanta one of six systems of Hindu philosophy, name of a certain system of philosophy and theology based particularly on the Upanishads.

Vela time.

Velu corrupt form of vela, time.

Vichaya examination

Vopalhak dispsacus inermis.

Wahdat unity, oneness.

Wahdat-al-shuhud unity - in experience, implying that Allah and His seeker are joined together but their individuality is preserved. In this unity the seeker is profoundly aware not only of his human individuality but, more importantly, of His beloved's unique individuality.

Wahdat al Wujud unity of being, it is experienced by an inflamed Sufi who believes that Everything is He'. That is how Ibn Arabi's ideas on the mystical experience were summarised in later mystical poetry, particularly in Iran, Turkey and India. The term has generally however been misunderstood and misinterpreted.

Wajh face, the words "Face of God" and "His Face" occur in the Quran in an appropriate signification in each place. The Quran, chapters 2/115.6/52;18/28).

Wajib obligatory.

Wali protege of God, saint, protector.

Wali-i-madarzad a born friend or protege of God.

Wazifa	a term used for regular repetition of the Quran or a portion from it or for repeating certain prayers preserved in various religious compilations, any religious duty stipulated or agreed upon, a pension, a stipend.
Wow	sow.
Yaran-i mujarrad	unmarried friends.
Yagya or yajna	Sacrifice, offering, oblation.
Yaqin	belief, true faith.
Yavanas	the Greeks generally, but the term was loosely used to denote any non-Hindu, particularly Muslims.
Yoga	the power of devotion, the power or strength derived from continued abstract meditation.
Yogi	One who practices penance by undergoing all sorts of physical mortification, one well- versed in the practice of yoga in particular.
Zahid	ascetic.
Zahir	external, apparent, opposite of batin, Az-Zahir, The External, or, The Apparent, is one of the Names of God in the Quran.

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Appendix - I

Khat-i-Irshad of Sayyid Muhammad Hamdani

Realise that allegiance (bait) is the sunna of prophets and Khulafa and this sunna will remain unchanged until the day of Judgement. Thus it is not permissible for any one among the protege of Allah (aulia) and Ulama to claim for himself vicegerency of Allah without authorisation and so long as he has a permission from a perfect teacher and guide, himself owing allegiance to such an order as is continuously connected with the Prophet Muhammad (Peace of Allah on him).

In the Name of Allah who has graced us and all (pious) servants to follow the right path and besides saved us and all noble and dignified servants from emulating Ahi-i-bida and Ahi-i-hawa and besides, elevated us, the group of sincere and friendly (believers), to such exalted ranks as are marked by whose preserved writings may truly be said to have formed to a large extent the pattern of all subsequent thought. The bulk of Muhasibi's writings pertain to self-discipline. In fact, his name is connected with the word for self-examination (*muhasaba*). He was a master of religious sciences, especially Hadith and Kalam. His *al-Ri-aya li-huquq-ullah* and *wasaya* had a tremendous influence on the latter day sufi thought especially on Ghazali. Ghazali, in his "Ihya" speaks about Muhasibi in these terms: "He harmonized and combined the science of Truth (*huqiqa*) and the science of the Law (*shafifa*). He spoke to the people in a manner which gave solace to them. As a result the experts of jurisprudence (*fukah*) had confidence in him as did the sufis.

With Abul-Qasim Junaid Baghdadi who was born around 210/825, we reach the other peak of the school of Baghdad. Junaid studied first law and Hadith and was attracted to sufism only after becoming a disciple of Muhasibi. He lived a long life and died in Baghdad in 298/910. This most famous master of the school of Baghdad trained many disciples and wrote a number of treatises, many in the form of letters, which have preserved his influence throughout Islamic history. Few have ever gained as he to the degree the *maarif* of Allah: "And praise and salutations upon His messenger and His nabi and His chosen one Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa and upon his progeny whose love is a passport for gaining virtuosity and exalted power (*daula*) and upon such of his companions as are the shining stars of the spiritual kingdom, and in following them we have received guidance. And then the one who is weak, feeble and defective is Muhammad bin Ali bin Shihabuddin Hamadani, May Allah grant him His special favours." He further says: "Realise that the meaning and purpose of creation is to arrive at an understanding of Allah (*marifa*) as some verses of the Quran, ahadis-i-Qudsiyya, sayings of the Prophets and pious history bear testimony to it. Thus it is obligatory on everyone among the humankind to struggle towards that goal for which he has been created..... And since there are innumerable ways leading towards Allah (and) as the Prophet (peace of Allah on him) has said. The ways guiding towards Allah are equivalent to the breath of (whole) creation. And among these the nearest path (*tariqa*) is the exalted Madhab of Kubrawiyya. Hamadaniyya and Hussainiyya led by my father, al Hamadani as in this path he was guided by such mashaikh as had granted him permission of *irshad* and the number of such dignitaries is thirty three. And then my brother Nuruddin Rishi Kashmiri who is pious, gnostic, man gifted with *Kashf*, *mujahida* and *mushahida* and is also a *Zahid* and *abid*. May Allah guide him like *salihin* and *arifin* and shower on him his grace like those who are perfect in piety and nearest to Allah. He not only insisted on his entry into the circle of Allah's lovers and perfectly pious souls but implored for it with every fibre of his being. Hence I granted him permission to make seekers (after the Truth) repentful and take allegiance from them. And may guide and train

those seeking guidance in the path, And may teach them *dhikrii chahar zarab* which will cleanse their heart from the dirt of its snares and (other) obstacles. (Besides) may accept nazr and hidaya and resort to seclusion, looked with favour in the exalted *tariqa* of *saadat*, and it is an integral part of *tariqa* that he may not forget me at occasions solemnized by the grant of prayers. I have written this (treatise) on the night following Friday on the 15th of the month of Rajab, 814 Hijri in the capital of Kashmir.

May Allah save Kashmir and its inhabitants against calamities and destruction.

Mir Muhammad Hamadani

(Eng. tr. courtesy *Kashmir, Transition to Islam*)

Appendix - II

Classified list of Primary Sources with brief description

1) BIOGRAPHIES

Khulasatul-Manaqib, by Nuru'd Din Jafar Badakh-ashi a prominent disciple of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. It was commenced at the end of Safar, 787/ April, 1385, in Khatlan. The work gives a large number of anecdotes which throw light on the biography of Saiyid Ali. Some of these the author claims to have heard himself from his preceptor, while others seem to have been related to him by other disciples of the Saiyid. Naturally they do not contain an account of the early activities of Saiyid Ali and the description of the events of his later life is rambling in character. However, they throw some light on his teachings. The work surprisingly makes no reference to any of the activities of Saiyid Ali in Kashmir.

It also quotes the verses of Saiyid Ali and other Persian poets such as Sadi and Attar. Besides, it includes anecdotes of some other important saints such as Najmud'Din Kubra and Alaud-Daula Simnani. The later biographers of Saiyid Ali have drawn heavily upon this.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department Srinagar (No. 658), and Riza Library Rampur (943), the latter manuscript comprises 160 pages, 21 lines per page (Story Pp 946-7).

Tuhfatul Ahbab A biographical account of Mir Shamsudin Iraqi who introduced the Shi'i sect into Kashmir. The author, who does not disclose his name, and his father, were the disciples of the Mir. The author was introduced

to the Mir by his father at the age of five (p 192) and the account is based on the knowledge of the author and his father.

The work gives several anecdotes relating to the Mir's encounters with yogis and highly exaggerates his success in demolishing temples and erecting mosques on their sites. It also refers to the charities and magnanimous deeds of the Mir. Its claim that Shaikh Ismail, the celebrated Kubravi saint of Kashmir, had entered the discipleship of the Mir (Pp. 4, 6) is supported by no other evidence.

As the work refers to the events of Fath Shah's second reign which commenced in 1505, it is certain that it was written in the sixteenth century; Muhibbul Hasan's statement that it was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century is baseless.

Dasturu's Salikin is a biography of Shaikh Hamza makhdum, by Baba Dawud Khaki completed in 962/1554-5. It was published at Srinagar in Ramazan 1356/ November, 1937, and its translation into Kashmiri appeared under the title *Zikrul Waslin*, Srinagar 1365/ 1946.

Rishi nama is another work by Baba Dawud Khaki completed in 988/1580-81 (chronogram). Its account of the Rishis is very brief and it largely deals with the miracles of Baba Dawud's preceptor, Shaikh Hamza and his father-in-law, Mirak Mir, a Qadri saint of Kashmir. The only manuscript copy (dated 1146/1733-34) of this work, to our knowledge, is in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 954). It comprises 135 folios and there are 16 lines to a page.

Chillatul Arifin, by Khawaja Ishaq Qari, a disciple of Shaikh Hamza, completed in 982/1574-75. It is divided into seven chapters.

- 1) Early life and initiation of Shaikh Hamza (Pp. 2a- 13b)
- 2-5) Sufi doctrines such as Khijwal, control of the carnal desires, and love of God (Pp. 14a-31b) based upon the works of Shaikh Shahabud-Din Suhrawardi and Saiyid Ali Hamadani.

6-7) Life and activities of Shaikh Hamza, after his initiation into Sufism (Pp 32a-126b).

Though overlaid with descriptions of the supernatural feats of the Shaikh the work records some of his discourses which are not available elsewhere. The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No.500), comprises 126 folios, 20 lines to a page.

Hidayatul-Mukhlisin: Another biography of Shaikh Hamza by Haidar Tulmuli, completed in 997/1588-89. Although the author claims to have sought to fill in the lacuna left by other biographers of the Shaikh, he generally follows Dasturu's Salikin and Chillatul Arifin, and makes no original contribution. The manuscript (No 593) in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar comprises 119 folios, 17 lines to a page.

Rishi- Nama by Baba Nasib also called Abul- Fuqar (d. 1047/1637); completed in 1041/1631. It begins with a long preliminary discourse on the virtues of the Prophet and the first four caliphs, and then goes on to give a detailed account of the Rishis, especially of Shaikh Nurud Din. Although full of legends and miracles, it throws important light on the growth and development of the Rishi order. In the end it makes a brief reference to Mirza Haidar's rule and his anti Shi'i activities.

Manuscript copies of this work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No 25, defective at the beginning), and India Office (Delhi, Persian 731). The latter comprises 414 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Asraru'l Abrar A work on the biographies of the saints of all the important sufi orders of Kashmir, completed in 1063/1652-53. The account of the Rishis is generally based on the Rishi Nama of Baba Nasib. It makes the brief but valuable comment that Rishi order existed in Kashmir before the introduction of Islam. Some sayings of Shaikh Nurud' Din such as his remark on the difference between an *alim* and *arif* and his discourses on the controlling of *nafs* are given in this work in a vivid style.

The work is now chronologically arranged as follows.

- 1) Saiyid Ali Hamadani and some of his disciples.
- 2) Mir Muhammad and some of his disciples.
- 3) Saiyid Sharafud Din Bulbul Shah.
- 4) Shaikh Nurud Din and his followers.
- 5) Other Saints- the rest of the disciples of Saiyid Ali and Mir Muhammad and other Sufis.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No 40), comprises 266 folios, 13 lines to a page.

Khawariqu's Salikin also known as **Tarikh-i-Hadi** by Mulla Ahmad bin Sabur, completed in 1109/1697-98. It contains a biographical account of some prominent sufis of Kashmir. The work is divided into three main parts.

- 1) Saiyids.
- 2) Rishis
- 3) Mashaikh-i-Kashmir.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department Srinagar (No. n.a) comprises 196 folios (folio 4 missing), and there are 17 lines to a page.

Masturat by one Haidar is an abridgement of the *Khulasatul-Manaqib* of Badakhshi; completed in 1136/1723-24. The author, however makes several additions in his abridgement, such as the statement that Saiyid Ali Hamadani is reported to have said that the Prophet ordered him to go to Kashmir in order to convert the people there to Islam.

He (1850) incorrectly says that the work was composed by one of the disciples of the Saiyid, since the chronogram *nur-i-aql raft* yields 1136/1736, whereas the Saiyid died in 786/1385. The manuscript in the India Office (Ether, 1850) comprises 96 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Fatuhah-i-Kubraviya: A biographical account of 161 Iranian and Kashmiri Kubraviya saints, including Rishis, by Abdul-Wahhab Nuri; completed in 1162/1748-49. The author overestimates the influence of the Kubraviya saints in Kashmir and includes the Rishis in that order.

Some statements in the work are self-contradictory and the dates are not always reliable. However its account of the growth and development of the Kubraviya and Rishi orders in Kashmir is very important. The manuscript in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 50) comprises 164 folios, 23 lines per page.

Rishi Nama: A work on the biographies of the Rishis different from the two previously described. Its author, Bahaud-Din Mattu (d. 1248/1832) composed it in verse. The account of the Rishis is mainly based on the Rishi-Nama of Nasib. It adds some anecdotes regarding Shaikh Nurud-Din's life, not described elsewhere. The biographies of some other Kashmiri saints are also given in the work.

Manuscript copies of the work are available in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No n.a.) and India Office (No 3684). The latter comprises 123 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Fatuhah-i-Qadiri: A biography of all important Iranian and Kashmiri Qadiri saints by Muhammad Husain Qadiri; completed in 1282/1867. It also gives an account of important non-Qadiri saints of Kashmir. However, it provides important information on the growth and popularity of the Qadiri order in Kashmir from the seventeenth century onwards. Manuscript in the Oriental Research Department Srinagar (NO, 30), comprises 263 folios, 22 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Hasan by Pir Hassan Khuihami (d 1898). This is a general political history of Kashmir; however its third volume, entitled *Auliya-i-Kashmir*, deals with the biographies of almost all the Kashmiri Sufis. The author claims to have used a vast amount of material from the earlier sources. The volume is divided into the following five chapters: Saiyids' Rishis, Mashaikh-i-Kashmir,

Ulama and Majzub. It was translated into Urdu by M. Ibrahim, Srinagar, 1960.

Tarikh-i-Kabir also called *Tuhaiful-Abrar*, by Haji Bahaud-Din Miskin, completed in 1321/1903-4. The author claims to have consulted all the earlier hagiological and political works of Kashmir, but it provides no additional information to that contained in *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. It is divided into five chapters with the same headings as the latter. Edition Amritsar, Ziqad, 1322/ January, 1905.

2) WORKS ON SUFI DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES

The works of Saiyid Ali listed below, bear no date and are arranged alphabetically.

Maqamatul-Sufiya gives the forty “stations” of the contemplative life. It is identical with the *Risala-i-dah Qaida* (see below). The ten principles of the latter are expanded into forty, without explaining them fully. Ms. British Museum, Add 16840. It comprises 3 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Dah Qaida: A treatise devoted to the contemplative life, explaining the ten stations which a devotee has to complete in order to reach his goal. Ms. British Museum, Add 16832, consisting of 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Darweshiya explains the necessity of a spiritual guide for the seeker and the rules of conduct for the latter. Ms. British Museum, Add. 16840, 6 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Fatuhiya explains the Sufi terms *akhi* and *futuwa* of Islam. Ms. British Museum, Add 16840, Q9 folios, Q1 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Itriqadiya is devoted to the basic five principles of Islam. Ms British Museum, Add, 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Kashful-Haqaiq gives an explanation of the mystic journey. Ms. British Museum, Add 16840, 5 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Muktubat, is a collection of eight letters written by Saiyid Ali to various people. In these letters the Saiyid advocates the addressees to follow the path of justice and to observe the religious obligations such as prayer and fasting. Ms. British, Add. 16840, 9 folios, 18 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Masharibul-Azwaq is concerned with the causes which create love in man and deals with various categories of lovers of God, British Museum, Add, 16840, 9 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Sharh-i-Mushkilhal: Explains briefly *marifa*, its various stages and different categories of people who strive after it. Ms. British Museum, Add 16840, one and a half folios, 10 lines to a page.

Risala-i-Zikriya discusses the importance and advantages of the *zikh-i-khafi* and defines in detail the two sufi categories, *Maqtasidan* and *Sabiqan-i-safuf-wilayat*. Ms. British Museum. Add 16840, 8 folios, 19 lines to a page.

Zakhiratul-Muluk is the largest and the best known work written by the Saiyid. It is divided into the following ten chapters:

- 1) Articles of faith, comprising a discussion on the nature of Godhead, Islam and Iman.
- 2) The principle obligations, such as prayers, fasting, alms and the pilgrimage.
- 3) Virtue and morality.
- 4) Rights of parents, wives, husbands, children and friends.
- 5) Rules of government, theory of kingship and relations with non-Muslims.
- 6) The spiritual kingdom.
- 7) The adherence to lawful conduct and abstinence from the unlawful.
- 8) Gratitude and contentment.

9) The virtues of patience.

10) Condemnation of conceit and anger, and praise of humility and forgiveness. Edition. Amristar, 1321/1903-4.

Nur-Nama: A collection of the sayings in Kashmiri poetry of Shaikh Nurud-Din Rishi. The editor, M. Amin Kamil, claims to have made the collection from various biographical works of the Shaikh. However he does not give clear reference to his sources. The present text consists of 257 short poems, mostly of four lines. Edition, Srinagar, 1966.

Risala-i-Zikriya by Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi. The importance of *zikr* is explained and light is thrown on the author's attitude towards the nature of Godhead. The manuscript copies in Oriental Research Department, Srinagar No 37. The work comprises 36 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Diwan-i-Sarfi: A collection of about seven hundred ghazals and forty rubaiyat of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi. The ghazals are arranged alphabetically.

Edited by Mir Habibullah Kamli. Srinagar. n.d).1

3) HISTORICAL WORKS BY KASHMIRI AUTHORS

Sanskrit

The Rajatarangini of Kalhana is the most important available historical document of ancient Kashmir; completed in 1148-49. It was translated into Persian under the orders of Akbar, by Mulla Shah Muhammad and rewritten in an easy style in 999/1590 by Abdul Qadir Badauni. Edition. Eng. Tr. M.A.Stein, 2 vols reprint, Delhi 1961.

The Rajatarangini of Jonaraja: Two hundred years after Kalhan's death. Jonaraja (d. 1459) continued the narrative down to his own time. This is the earliest extant and most valuable source for the history of Kashmir from 1150 to 1459. It throws important light on the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Sultanate in the valley; and the tension which prevailed during Sultan Sikandar's reign. Being a staunch Brahman himself, Jonaraja

greatly resents the conversion of Hindus to Islam and therefore his statements should be viewed with caution. Edition. Hoshiarpur, 1967, Eng Tr. J.C.Dutt (Kings of Kashmira), Calcutta 1898.

The Rajatarangini of Shrivara or Jainarajatarangini: by Shrivara, the pupil of Jonaraja, gives a detailed account of the history of Kashmir from 1459 to 1486. Like Jonaraja, Shrivara greatly exalts the virtues of Zainul-Abidin and is very critical of the Baihaqi Saiyids. Eng, Tr. J.C. Dutt, op. cit.

The Rajatarangini of Shuka: Is a historical account of Kashmir from Sultan Fath Shah's second reign down to the Mughal conquest of the valley, by Shuka. It gives a valuable account of the rebellions and civil wars which had by this time become the order of day in Kashmir. It also throws some light on the activities of Mir Shamasud-Din Iraqi. Eng. Tr, J.C.Dutt op cit.

Persian

Tarikh-i-Kashmir By Saiyid Ali. This is the only extant Persian chronicle written during the reign of the Sultans of Kashmir. G.M. Sufi says that the work was written between 1530-37, but the manuscript copy available to us also refers to events taking place after 1537; for example, list of the Chak rulers as far as Yusuf Shah. As the work does not refer to Saiyid Mubarak Baihaqi who succeeded Yusuf Shah in 1579, it would appear to have been completed in 1579 or a little before.

The author was related to the Shah Mir dynasty through his mother who was the sister of Nazuk Shah (p 27a-b). Both Saiyid Ali and his father, Saiyid Muhammad, were probably in the service of Mirza Haidar (Pp.27a). The manuscript begins abruptly with an account of the arrival at Kashmir, during the reign of Sultan Shihabud-din, of Saiyid Tajud-Din, the cousin of Saiyid Ali Hamadani. The conquests of Sultan Shihabud-din and the iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar are both greatly exaggerated. Most of the work is concerned with the lives of the sufis, including Rishis. There is no chronological order in the narrative. A detailed analysis of the work is as follows:

- The arrival of Saiyid Tajud-Din and the conquests of Sultan Shihabud-Din, Pp. 1a. 2b.
- Accession of Sultan Qutbud-Din and the arrival of Saiyid Ali Hamadani, Pp. ab-3a.
- Activities of Saiyid Ali and some of his disciples, Pp. 3a-8b.
- Death of Sultan Qutbud-Din p. 9a.
- Accession of Sultan Sikandar and the arrival of Mir Muhammad, p. 9a-b.
- Iconoclastic activities of Sultan Sikandar and Mir Muhammad's efforts to spread the faith of Islam, Pp. 10a-14b.
- Death of Sultan Sikandar and the accession of Ali Shah, p.14b.1
- Zainul Abidin's reign, his activities to rehabilitate the Hindus and his patronage of arts and crafts, Pp, 15a-17b.
- Brief description of important saints including Shaikh Bahaud-Din Ganjbakhsh, Pp. 17b-19a.
- Description of Zainud-din and his exile to Tibet, Pp 19b-20a.
- Accession of Haidar Shah, p.20a.
- Accession of Hasan Shah, a brief description of his reign, Pp. 20a-21a.
- Arrival of Shamsud-Din Iraqi p.21a.
- Brief description of Shaikh Ismail Kubravi and his father Shaikh Fathullah, p. 21b.
- Accession of Fath Shah, p.21b.
- Civil war between Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah and the latter's death, p.22a.
- Brief description of Shaikh Ismail's activities, p.23a.

- Shamsud-Din Iraqi's second visit to Kashmir and his activities, Pp. 24a-25a.
- Mirza Haidar's conquest of Kashmir (second time), Pp 25b-26a.
- Mirza Haider's anti-Shii activities, p.26a-b.
- Mirza Haider's downfall and death, p.27a-b.
- Gazi Shah's accession, p.27b.
- Masan Shah's, Ali Shah's and Yusuf Shah's reign, p.28a.
- References to disciples of Mir Muhammad Hamadani Pp. 28b-29b.
- References to disciples of Saiyid Ali, Pp. 29b-30a.
- Brief notices about Saiyid Haji Murad, Saiyid Husain Rumi, Baba Usman Ganai Pp 30b-31b.
- Descriptions of prominent Rishi saints, Pp. 32a-47a.

The manuscript copy in the Oriental Research Department, Srinagar (No. 739) comprises 47 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Baharistan-i-Shahi is a history of Kashmir from earliest times to 1023/1614-15, the year of its composition (chronogram). Nothing is known about the author, but it is popularly believed that he was a Shii. The author mentions (Pp. 33a-b) that his great grandfather, Mulla Hasamud-Din, had migrated from Ghazni and was disciple of Haji Ibrahim Adham, a Kubravi saint of Kashmir. He was probably in the service of, or patronized by, the Baihaqi Saiyids; for he devotes a large part of his work to eulogizing their characters and careers.

Apart from the Sanskrit chronicles mentioned earlier, the author claims to have consulted also the Persian works of Mulla Ahmad and Mulla Nadiri of Zainul-Abidin's time, of which there are now no traces. The pre-Islamic period is dismissed in a few folios. The Muslim period, especially from the

time of the later Shah Mir rulers, is discussed in detail.

Some prominent sufis of Kashmir are also described by the author who provides the first account of the conflict between Sultan Outbud-Din and Saiyid Ali Hamadani.

The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No OR. 1977) and in the India Office (No.Ether, 509): the latter comprises 221 folios, 16 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Hasan bin Ali. This is a short history of Kashmir, which is claimed to cover the period up to 1616; however, apart from a casual reference to Yaqub Shah's submission to Akbar, the author does not proceed beyond Sultan Hasan Shah's reign (1472-84). He corroborates the view stated in the Baharistan-i-Shahi on the conflict between Sultan Qutbud-din and Saiyid Ali Hamadani.

Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (NO.315) comprises 131 folios, 15 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Haidar Malik Chadura, completed in 1620-21. The work closely follows the Baharistan-i-Shahi. Like the latter, it gives a short account of some important Muslim saints of Kashmir and throws some light on the Shii-Sunni conflict there. The manuscript copies of the work are available in the British Museum (No. CR 1799) and in the India Office (No. Ethe, 2846). The latter copy comprises 188 folios and there are 10 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by a Kashmiri Brahman, named Narayan Kaul Ajiz, is a history of Kashmir up to 1710, the year of the completion of the work. It is an abridgement of Haidar Malik's chronicle and contains no new information. The manuscript copies of the work are available at the Bodleian Library (No 318), India Office (No. Ethe, 511) and British Museum (No. 11631). The latter comprises 125 folios, 14 lines to a page.

Nawadirul-Akhbar by Aba Rafiud-din; completed in 1136/1723-24. It

provides no information which is not contained in the earlier works, such as *Baharistan-i-Shahi* and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Haidar Malik. The author, however, over-estimates the influence of the religious factor in the civil wars which followed Sultan Hasan Shah's reign. Manuscript copy in the British Museum (NO.Add. 24029) comprises 131 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Azami also called **Waqit-i-Kashmir** by Muhammad Azam. This was completed in 1160/1747-48. The historical account is abridged from earlier works, but it offers valuable descriptions of all the prominent sufis of Kashmir. These descriptions are inserted, in each case, after an account of the Sultan in whose reign the individual sufis lived. Edition. 1303/1886.

Gauhar-i-Alam: According to its preface, it is an abridgement of the above mentioned *Tarikh-Azami*, by Muhammad Aslam. It was completed in 1200/1785-86 and dedicated to Shah Alam II (1759-1806). Manuscript copy in the Bodleian Library (No 320) consists of 280 folios, 11 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir also known as **Majmaul-Tawarikh**, by Birbal Kachru. This is a history of Kashmir upto 1251/1835-36. It is mainly based upon the earlier Sanskrit and Persian chronicles and is of little use for the history of the rulers before the Sikhs. Manuscript copy (No. 1973) in the Bodleian Library comprises 399 folios, 13 lines to a page.

Tarikh-i-Hasan by Pir Hasan Khulhami (d. 1998). The first volume deals with the geography of Kashmir, the Muslim monuments, castes, tribes and religious sects. The second volume is devoted to the political history of Kashmir up to the author's own time. The third volume has already been referred to under the section concerned with biographies. The fourth volume concentrates upon the poets of Kashmir, mostly Persian, who flourished in the Sultanate and the Mughal periods. Edition 1, Srinagar, 1954 11, Urdu tr. M. Ibrahim, Srinagar 1957.